THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DO CHINESE WOMEN HOLD UP HALF THE SKY?

INTERVIEWS WITH CHINESE INTELLECTUALS

BY

LESLIE ANN CRAWFORD

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Date: 12 May 1989

DEDICATION

To my Mother and Father

and

to all those who have undertaken, are undertaking and will undertake the journey of the heroine/hero in selfless pursuit of justice and for the betterment and preservation of the preciousness of life on our beautiful planet....Mother Earth.

ABSTRACT

In 1976 the Chinese Government re-initiated the 4 modernizations movement which was to re-direct China's domestic and foreign policies towards the goal of modernizing industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defence. Science and technology are seen as pivotal to the movement and thousands of Chinese students — mostly male — have been sent abroad to access Western scientific and technical techniques in order to bring about China's modernization.

This thesis explores the role of educated urban Chinese women in the 4 modernizations — with specific reference to science and technology-based on the discrimination encountered by women in their informal education (the socialization process) and also in their formal schooling.

A questionnaire was used to gather data from Chinese intellectuals studying English at the Canada China Language Centre in Beijing, the People's Republic of China. The questionnaire results showed that while science and technology are considered to be key to China's modernization neither the majority of males nor females were convinced that women were capable of being successful in scientific and technical fields.

Interviews with intellectuals studying at the Language Centre, as well as with other Beijing intellectuals, showed that Chinese women have the tendency not to aspire to enter the male dominated professions of science and technology due to their socialization process, whereby they become victims of sex-stereotyping, and also because their formal schooling discourages rather than encourages them to enter these professions. As a result, there are

more Chinese males studying abroad in scientific and technical fields.

The cultural values and ethical aspects of Western science and technology are examined from a feminist and political perspective in terms of the problems associated with the transfer of these values to China in scientific and technical form.

In the face of enormous problems confronting China in terms of over-population, inflation, corruption and political unrest, the thesis concludes with the question: Will there be a 4 modernizations?, and the acknowledgement that while Chinese women do not yet hold up half the sky, they may possess the unvoiced potential to do sometime in China's future.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

In 1981, I went to teach English as a Second Language in Beijing, the People's Republic of China. I knew little about China before I went; therefore, the first two years spent there were full of exploration and discovery. While in China I was not only experiencing the sights, sounds, and smells of another country and culture, I was coming into existence myself. By not belonging to one culture, I began to see how I had been moulded and shaped to fit into my own — most particularly as a woman. It was in China when I realized that the collective 'voices' of women like Nellie McClung, Betty Freidan and Gloria Steinham had made a difference for the women of my generation however small, however significant.

As for the women of China, it seemed as though that even if they spoke, they were used to not being heard. And yet, they persevered with a quiet nobleness. Pearl Buck calls it the 'strength of the unwanted'. Perhaps it was the silence of the women of China that I used to hear between the creaking wheels of the oxen carts, and the shuffling of the old ladies whose bound feet bore witness to their crippled past.

I know that men in China have also been oppressed throughout history, and I feel for them also. But it is the women of China I particularly wished to give **recognition** to in writing this thesis. I wanted to re-member their dis-memberment and to give voice to their silence as one who, though not Chinese, is still one of them ... as Other.

I also wish to acknowledge that I have approached this work from the viewpoint of that of

'socialist feminism'. Alison Jaggar defines socialist feminism in her book Feminist Politics and Human Nature (1988) as:

> our 'inner lives' as well as our bodies and behaviour are structured by gender; that this gender-structuring is not innate but is socially imposed; that the specific characteristics that are imposed are related systematically to the historically prevailing system of organizing social production; that the gender-structuring of our 'inner lives' occurs when we are very young and is reinforced throughout our lives in a variety of different spheres; and that these relatively rigid masculine and feminine character structures are a very important element in maintaining male dominance (p. 127). Further, Socialist feminist's distinctive contribution to our understanding of human nature is its recognition that the differences between women and men are not pre-social givens, but rather are socially constructed and therefore socially alterable (pp. 303-304).

Since I conducted my research in a country where Marxism-Leninism has been the official ideology since 1949, I would like to point out that Socialist feminism conflicts with Marxist theory in that Marxism fails to account for the reasons of the sexual division of labour. In fact, it is argued that:

> Marxism's failure to provide an adequate historical account of the sexual division of labour is more than just an omission from the theory. It is an omission that works systematically to obscure women's oppression. By obscuring women's oppression, Marxist theory provides a rationale for its perpetuation. The biologistic conception of procreation legitimates women's continuing responsibility for procreative labor. This responsibility in turn, hinders women's full participation in nonprocreative labor and legitimates sex-segregation in that sphere. At the same time biologistic conception of procreation leads to the devaluation of procreative labor: women's work may be socially necessary, but it is not fully historical and hence not fully human work (Jaggar, 1988: 78).

One of my female informants asked me to come back to Canada and talk to women here,

and find out what the differences/similarities were between Chinese and Canadian women. From a feminist viewpoint, I already knew that we shared 'monotonous similarities'. In fact, it disturbed me not to be able to find more distinctive differences. No doubt these differences do exist, and most likely are much more evident in rural China. However, the fact that we share so many similarities may serve to increase our understanding of one the other, and bring us closer together towards re-visioning the creation of a kinder, gentler and more harmonious universe.

Statement of the Problem

The major purpose of this study is to show how Chinese women, both historically and in contemporary Chinese society have been disadvantaged because of their sex. There are, of course, enormous class differences among women intellectuals and women workers, for instance, and between urban and rural women. However, I hope to show that Chinese patriarchy affects all women regardless of which class they belong to even if in varying degrees. Yet, my main focus in my field work has been on the problems encountered by urban, educated Chinese women in their efforts to advance, and the specific question addressed in this thesis is: What will the role of urban, educated women be in the 4 modernizations — with specific reference to science and technology — based on their discrimination in informal education (the socialization process) and, as a consequence, also in their formal schooling.

Review of the Literature

Three main bodies of literature were consulted with regards to writing this thesis. Firstly, it was necessary to look at sources which would give an historical perspective on China and Chinese women. Secondly, it was important to find references which examined the problem of Western cultural and economic penetration what with Chinese students being sent abroad to study, and thus, facilitate the transfer of Western science and technology to China. Thirdly, it was important to draw on sources which look at the cultural values of science and its political implications.

Much of the historical information for this thesis has been drawn from the works of the following female writers: Phyllis Andors, Elizabeth Croll, Delia Davin, Kay Ann Johnson, Julia Kristeva, Judith Stacey, Esther Yao, and Margarey Wolf. These writers, especially Elizabeth Croll — Feminism and Socialism in China (1978) and Chinese Women under Mao (1983), Phyllis Andors — The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women (1983), Kay Ann Johnson — Women, The Family and Peasant Revolution (1983), and Esther Yao — Chinese Women Past and Present (1983) provided the framework for the historical chapter of this study. Further information on the Chinese family and society was obtained from reading the works of Hugh Baker, Alan Liu, William Parish and Martin Whyte, Wai-Kin Che, and C.K. Yang.

The works of Vincent Shih, Paul Clements, Immanual Hsu, and Paul Isaacs provided deeper insight into the history of China from the first Opium War of 1840 up until the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Chow Tse-Tsung's book The May Fourth Movement (1967) was the major work the author drew from in learning more about this important historical period in China's history. From Johnathan Spence's The Gate of Heavenly Peace (1982) came

information regarding some of the key female and male reformers of this period. The Soong Dynasty (1986) by Sterling Seagrave served to heighten the author's appreciation of what occurred in China during the rule of Chiang Kai-Shek and the events that led up to the Chinese Revolution by the Communist Party in 1949.

Ruth Hayhoe was an important source since she is the only writer the author came across who is concerned with examining the cultural implications involved in the transfer of Western science and technology to China by Chinese students studying abroad.

Perspectives on Western science and technology came from Carol Merchant's Death of Nature (1980), The Political Economy of Science (1976) by Hilary Rose and Steven Rose, Reflections of Gender and Science (1985) by Helen Fox Keller, and The New Politics of Science (1984) by David Dickson. Articles by Sandra Harding, Hilary Rose, Janet Sayers, Elizabeth Fee, Rose Sheinin, Connie-Stark Adamec, Marion Lowe, Joan Pinner Scott, Meredith Kimball and Joseph S. Alper, contributed to increasing the author's awareness of why women in North America are not being encouraged to play a more important role in science.

There were a number of periodicals from which the author was able to select articles pertinent to the subject of her research. They are listed as follows: Asian Review, Asian Studies, Beijing Review, Berkeley Journal of Sociology, The Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, China Notes, China Reconstructs, The China Quarterly, Chinese Sociology and Anthropology, Comparative Education Review, Feminist Studies, International Journal of Women's Studies, International Socialist Review, Journal of Research and Development in Education, Modern China, Pacific Affairs, Race and Class, Signs, Social Problems, World Politics, and

Women in China.

The following female authors offered a Western feminist perspective: Mary Daly, Mary O'Brien, Marilyn French, Germaine Greer, and Alison Jaggar. The China Daily, the only English daily newspaper published in China, was surveyed for the period of a year, from September 1986 up to August 1987.

Delimitations of the Study

The study was delimited by the following:

1. The author does not read Chinese. Therefore, she had to rely on secondary sources in order sketch an historical perspective of Chinese women.

2. The author conducted her interviews either in English or with the aid of an interpreter. As a result the choice of words used by the participants in English may have differed from their choice of words in their own language. It was also not possible to grasp the subtleties of the para-language which would have occurred more authentically in the native language of the informants.

3. The author focused on only one of the four modernizations — science and technology. This is because science and technology are seen by the Chinese government as being key to realizing the modernization of industry, agriculture and national defense which together with science and technology form the 4 modernizations.

Definition of Terms

MODERNIZATION: This infers industrial and economic development. In developing countries modernization equals "westernization."

THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS MOVEMENT: In 1976, when the 'cultural revolution' officially ended, the new leadership began the task of re-directing China's domestic and foreign policies towards the goal of modernizing industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense. The overall domestic goal was to reach a level of industrial and agricultural productivity, military preparedness, and scientific progress equal to that of other major world powers, by the year 2,000.

WESTERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: Science and technology are not viewed as being separate from one another. The concept of science as neutral and objective is challenged by feminist scientists and political science writers.

PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM: One in which control, through tradition and institutions, is used to perpetuate a hierarchy of male domination.

CONFUCIANISM: The moral state doctrine established in the second century B.C.

NEO-CONFUCIANISM: Established about 50 years following the founding of the Sung Dynasty (960-1280) A.D. "Neo-Confucianism, sometimes considered a revival or renaissance of Chinese cultural heritage, generated a great impact on logic and philosophy which in turn penetrated literature, arts and people's daily existence. In particular, it brought misery to women's lives in the subsequent dynasties" (Yao, 1983: 75).

ANCESTOR WORSHIP: The worshipping of the souls of the dead.

THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT: This movement which united students, intellectuals, and workers, advocated political, economic, social and cultural reforms. The demonstration which took place on May fourth,1919, was to protest against Japan's "21 Demands" which would have ended China's existence as a sovereign nation.

REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR: This refers to the work involved in the rearing of a child. However, when used by Mary O'Brien (1981), this term is used to connote conception, pregnancy and the birthing process.

Background to the Study:

In September of 1986, the author went to teach at the Canada China Language Centre (CCLC) located in Beijing, the People's Republic of China. The CCLC was established in 1983 by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and is administered by Saint Mary's University in Halifax Nova Scotia. The purpose of the Centre is to provide Chinese professionals with the necessary linguistic skills needed to work and for study in Canada for a period of six months to two years — the longest period of stay in Canada generally being one year. Candidates are selected by their respective work units to undergo language testing to qualify to go to Canada or if necessary further language training at the CCLC. Once the student passes the exam at the CCLC, or at the insistence of his/her work unit, the student is eligible to go to Canada. Once in Canada these professionals will undergo training in English for Special Purposes (ESP) and receive some kind of cultural training to help them to adapt to Canadian life and customs. Orientations are given in any one of the five Regional Language and Orientation Centres (RLOC) located in Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax and last from four to six weeks. The trainees, as

they are called in Canada are placed in private companies, crown corporations, or research centres by the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) which administers the Canada-China Human Development Training Program (CCHDTP) on behalf of CIDA. The students studying at the Canada China Language Centre from April 1987 to August of the same year provided the author with most of the data for this thesis through filling out a questionnaire and volunteering to be interviewed for the purpose of examining how Chinese men and women felt about the role of educated, urban women in the modernization of China. Permission to distribute the questionnaire was first obtained from Dr. M. Herrick, then the Canadian director of the CCLC, on the condition that permission was also sought from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade (MFERT). Mr. Hong Bin Wen, Project Officer, at the Canadian Embassy in Beijing relayed the request to the authorities at MFERT and permission was granted to distribute the questionnaire. Additional interviews were also done with informants outside of the Canada China Language Centre.

Design of the Study:

The research instruments used for this study were the questionnaire and the interview method. The questionnaire format was chosen so as to be able to reach a larger sample of the population than would be possible using the interview method.

Design of the Questionnaire:

The first step in the questionnaire development was to identify key areas which educated women in China felt were of importance to them. This was done by conducting five interviews during the months of November and December of 1986. The first interview took place at the home of one of the informants. Two women, who knew each other well as

colleagues and friends, were interviewed together. The interview lasted two hours. These same women were interviewed once again one month later along with a third woman at the home of one of the informants. The interview took three hours. Two separate one hour interviews were conducted with two other women at their homes in Beijing.

In November of 1986, I conducted a three hour interview with a woman from the All-China Women's Federation at her home. I was introduced to this woman through one of my Chinese friends, who served as an interpreter throughout the interview.

Areas considered as being important included:

1. Females being dissuaded from studying science and mathematics in secondary school.
2. The importance of Western science and technology in China's quest to modernize.
3. Females having to score higher on university entrance examinations.
4. Differences in what is seen as being appropriate occupations for males and appropriate occupations for females.
5. Lack of promotions for females.
6. Extra responsiblities of housework and child-rearing for females.
7. Females feeling a lack of self-confidence.
8. The influence of Confucian philosophy on males and females.

A questionnaire (see Appendix A) was constructed with the aim of obtaining more information with concern to the above. Both closed and open-ended questions were used. The questionnaire was also designed to serve as a catalyst to pinpoint areas which could be further investigated using the interview method.

Distribution of the Questionnaire:

The questionnaire was distributed to the students in a class period by myself and one of my fellow teachers in June, 1987. This guaranteed a hundred percent return rate of the questionnaire. All together 53 students filled out the questionnaire.

Interview Questions:

A number of interview questions were devised from the results of the questionnaire. They were as follows:

1. Many males felt that women shouldn't be at the Canada China Language Centre. What do you think?
2. Do you think that women can be good in science and technology?
3. Why do you think that most of the people surveyed don't think that males would make good teachers or nurses?
4. Do you think it's fair that women have to get higher marks on entrance exams?
5. Do you think that women have the same opportunities as men?
6. Would you like to be a leader? Do men and women have equal chances for promotion?
7. Do you think that women neglect their careers after marriage and the birth of a child?
8. How would you respond to this? Boys just want a beautiful nurse.
9. Do men like to marry women with higher educations than they have?
10. How are women going to contribute to the 4 modernizations?
11. Do you think women will be making major decisions in the future?
12. Do women really hold up half the sky?
13. Is history a factor in there being less opportunities for Chinese women?

Interviews at the CCLC:

Interviews conducted with students were conducted on a voluntary basis. A total of 11 females were interviewed with each interview lasting approximately one hour. Two students were interviewed twice. Five students were interviewed alone, two groups of three students were interviewed together, and two students were interviewed at the same time.A total of 13 male students were interviewed. Four were interviewed alone. Three were interviewed together, and three groups of two were interviewed together. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. Students were interviewed in groups of 2 or 3 because there was not enough time to be able to interview them all individually.

Interviews Held Outside the CCLC:

In addition to the 5 women interviewed in the Fall of 1986, interviews of one hour each were held with a female student from the prestigious Beijing University, a female interpreter, and a female working at the All-China Women's Federation in the Spring and Summer of 1987. One Chinese business man and scholar was also interviewed.

Three professional interviews were also conducted. The woman in charge of the Division of Admittance to Higher Education, and her assistant, were interviewed at the State Education Commission. This interview was arranged thanks to Mr. Hong Bin Wen, Project Officer for CIDA at the Canadian Embassy. An interview was also held with the information officer at the All China Women's Federation. Both of these interviews were conducted with the use of interpretation. The third interview took place at a university setting with the Director of the English Language Program at that particular university.

All the interviews were transcribed, coded, and divided into the themes which comprise the

fourth chapter of this thesis. As China is not a democratic country in which freedom of speech is guaranteed, it is important to protect the anonymity of the author's informants. Therefore, no names will be mentioned in this thesis.

Validity of the Research Methodology:

Although the author does not speak Chinese, she does not feel that having conducted the interviews in English, or through the use of an interpreter, makes the data collection less valid. In fact, people are sometimes much more open when speaking a language foreign to their own. Chinese people are also often more comfortable talking with a foreigner as one who does not belong to the in-group. As an interviewer, the author has the ability to set the informant at ease and to ask skillful questions. The author is also very sensitive to the Chinese culture, and has worked with Chinese people in China and in Canada.

With respect to the interviews given at the State Education Commission and the All-China Women's Federation, it was obvious to the author that some of the information given was 'the official party line'. However, the author has had enough experience in China to be able to distinguish between what is party line and what is not.

Organization of the Thesis:

There are five chapters following the introduction of this thesis. Chapter two is an historical survey of the history of Chinese women, for to understand their present is also to know something of their past. Chapter three records the findings of a questionnaire distributed to male and female professionals studying English at the Canada China Language Centre in Beijing where the author worked from 1986-1987. The questionnaire sought to provide information on male and female attitudes towards gender differences. Chapter four looks more deeply at gender differences and stereo-types through information gained from a

number of interviews both with male and females students at the Canada China Language Centre and other professionals. Chapter five discusses how more opportunities have been given to male Chinese students to study abroad in the fields of science and technology. The Western cultural values of science and technology are looked at from a feminist and political perspective, and how these values if they are to be transferred to China would further serve to oppress women, and possibly the world at large. Chapter six concludes this study with an overall review of the findings in the preceding chapters and with reference to additional problems in Chinese society which may serve to impede the modernization process.

The following acronyms have been used in various chapters of the thesis:

CCP for the Chinese Communist Party.

KMT for the Kuomintang Party

ACWF for the All-China Women's Federation

CIDA for the Canadian International Development Agency

CCLC for the Canada China Language Centre

All Chinese names referred to by the author will use the ping ying romantization. For the purpose of recognition the names 'Chiang Kai-Shek' and 'Sun-Yat Sen' as well as 'Kuomintang' and 'Canton' have been left in the original wade jile romanization. Where Chinese names have been quoted the name has been bracketed and written in ping ying upon its first appearance in the text.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CHINESE HISTORY

B.C.	ERA
2852	Culture Heroes: Fu Xi: inventor of writing, fishing, trapping Shen Nong: inventor of agriculture, commerce. Huang-di
2357	Sage Kings Yao Shun Yu: founder of Xia Dynasty
1818	Xia Dynasty
1766	Shang Dynasty
1115	Western Zhou Dynasty
722	Eastern Zhou Dynasty
221	Qin Dynasty
202	Former Han Dynasty
A.D.	**ERA**
25	Latter Han Dynasty
220	Period of the Three Kingdoms & Wei Dynasty
280	Jin Dynasty
317	Northern & Southern Empire
589	Sui Dynasty

618	Tang Dynasty
907	Song Dynasty
1260	Yuan Dynasty
1368	Ming Dynasty
1644	Qing Dynasty
1911	Republic of China
1949	People's Republic of China

(chart adapted from Yao, 1983: vii)

CHAPTER TW0

AN HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CHINESE WOMEN

When asked an historical question pertaining to China, the Chinese are fond of using the phrase: 'China is a country with a vast history'. The very vagueness of this statement coupled with the observation that it is often used, reduce it to that of a cliche. However, as I began to plunge deeper and deeper into my study of Chinese women, I became more and more aware of the significance of this phrase. It is almost an apology of sorts since the history of China spans over 5,000 years, and therefore, humbles those who seek to portray history as truthfully and as accurately as possible (which in itself is, of course, an impossibility). Therefore, what I have tried to do in this chapter is to 'set the stage' for those readers unfamiliar with Chinese history in order to give them a broad sense of how tradition, major historical events and government policies have contributed to making the status of women in China what it is today. I would advise my readers that the fate of Chinese women has varied throughout time — for example, the ruler of the Tang Dynasty was a woman, Empress Wu, and many of the court's officials at that time were women; women also enjoyed more sexual freedom with the choice of remaining single. However, it would appear from the readings which I have done that, during many periods of their history, the women of China have been forced to live under one of the most repressive patriarchal systems in the world.

PATRIARCHY, CONFUCIANISM AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP

Although one cannot say that the patriarchial system was invented by Confucius, it is he who has become acknowledged as the philosopher responsible for shaping Chinese social,

economic and political thought for the last 2,000 years. "Of his ideology, he says, that he is only a transmitter and not an originator. I am a traditionalist, not one who creates new things. I am faithful, a lover of the old" (Jaspers, 1957: 43). "One is struck by Confucius' indifference to women. He has nothing to say of conduct in matrimony, speaks disparagingly of women, has only contempt for a pair of lovers who have committed suicide together, and frequently remarks that nothing is so hard to handle as a woman. The atmosphere around him is distinctly masculine" (Jaspers, 1957: 47). Confucius is believed to have said that "women are as different from men as earth is from heaven ... women are indeed human beings, but they are of a lower state than men" (Burton, 1911: 19).

The historical works from which Confucius drew, and for which he is credited with editing, are the Book of Changes, the Book of History, the Book of Odes, and the Record of Rites. The Annals of Spring and Autumn were supposedly written by Confucius himself. The first of the great books, the Book of Changes, was written, according to legend by Fu Hsi (Fu Xi), who along with Nu-Kuo (Nu-Gua), and Shen-Nung (Shen-Nong) are among the earliest named figures in Chinese history. Known as 'The Three August Ones', they "are seen as having been sent by Heaven to teach the fundamentals of wisdom, agricultural and civilization to humanity. They are reputed to have lived in a period before 3000 BC" (Palmer, 1986: 233).

"History relates that, at the moment Fu Hsi was seeking to combine the characters proper to express the various forms of matter, and the relation between things physical and intellectual, a wonderful horse came out of the river, bearing on his back certain signs, of which the philosophic legislator formed the eight diagrams which have preserved his name" (Williams, 1976: 202). "These held that the universe was composed of two interacting elements 'yin' the female and 'yang' the male. The 'yin' elements displayed dark, weak

and passive attributes in contrast to the 'yang' elements which were characterized by all that was bright, strong and active. The rhythms of day and night or the sun and the moon and summer and winter fitted the balancing roles of male and female. While man was endowed with the 'firm nature of heaven', woman partook of the yielding nature of the 'earth'" (Croll, 1978: 12). The 'yin' and the 'yang' were seen as different but equal. This is exemplified by the reverence accorded the two great emperors following Fu Hsi. Both were women. Nu-Kuo, known as either the wife or sister of Fu Hsi "was the heroine, in mythology, who put the rainbow in the sky with 5 colors of stones to save her people. The creation of musical instruments and formation of Chinese music can also be traced to Nu Kuo's efforts" (Yao, 1983: 35). "The art of healing is said to have originated from the legendary Emperor Shen Nung, 2835 B.C., who wrested from nature a knowledge of her opposing principles and of the virtues of herbs and other medicinal remedies" (Williams, 1976: 271).

But, by the second century B.C. when Confucianism was established as the state doctrine, the concept of 'yin' as being the equal partner of 'yang' had become as legendary as the 'The Three August Ones'. This is because at the root of Confucianism and its spiritual dimension of ancestor worship lay the "ideology of patrilineal, patriarchal kinship" (Johnson, 1983: 24). "With the birth of a son a wife was in a much stronger position within her husband's family. Because of producing a male heir she could, in her old age, gain equality with a man. Without sons she was doomed to powerlessness and eventually to extinction, for if she had no sons she could not be an ancestress, and if she could not be an ancestress it meant that her soul would have no means of support when she died. With sons her importance to the family was established, her existence after death was assured and she became as immortal as did her husband" (Baker, 1979: 47). "Assuming that

everyone believed in ancestor worship, the pressures to conform were doubtless much increased by the knowledge that non-conformity meant a kind of ritual death" (Baker, 1979: 105). "Hungry ghosts without descendents are the dirtiest of all spirits. They come wandering around with missing heads or limbs, covered with filth and dressed in rags. These ghosts are the epitome of social disorder, contravening the most valued elements of orderly existence. They have no one to carry on their lives of descent, they are without resources, and they are excluded from any social group. Even worse, they destroy order where they can, causing illness and and family quarrels" (Ahern,1975: 208).

Women, although responsible for daily worship of the ancestors within the home, were excluded from participating in ancestral hall worship. These ceremonies were, instead, conducted by educated and wealthy officials. "Whether the ancestors were 'worshipped' in China or not has been a matter of debate among Western observers for many years " (Baker, 1979: 99). "There seems in fact to have been an awareness of the social effects of the ancestral cult on the part of the educated elite which made their advocacy of it very much more a rational than a religious factor" (Baker, 1979: 105). "Confucius himself was not to be drawn on the subject of the afterlife. The Master did not talk of prodigies, feats of strength, revolts or spirits, say the Analects. He said men should sacrifice to ancestors 'as if present' but that does not mean that he believed in their existence. What he clearly did believe in were continuity and the importance of the family" (Baker, 1979: 82-83).

"The wise man knows the roots, says the old Sage. The root of the empire is in the State. The root of the State is in the family. The root of the family is within the individual" (Lang, 1968: 9). "Eberhard claims that the Chinese language included no words for 'individual', 'Individualism', or 'freedom' prior to China's opening up to the West. This was the explicit intent of the filial code" (Stacey, 1983: 33). The hierarchical order of filial piety and

submission were based on the following order: Ruler to minister, father to son, elder brother to younger brother, husband to wife, and friend to friend. Generation came before age, and age before sex. Both men and women were included when Confucius said in the Analects: "Filial piety and fraternal submission, are they not the root of all benevolent actions?" (Legge, 1893: 139).

SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION OF CHINESE GIRLS AND BOYS

Only a small minority of Chinese women received an education and the aim was to achieve "perfect submission, not cultivation and development of the mind" (Burton, 1911: 19). "Along with the Five Classics, the Four Books for Girls, written by women, simplified and explained the doctrines of the classics concerning their sex, and have been used as text-books for the education of girls throughout succeeding generations" (Lewis, 1900: 7). Lady Tsao (Cao), a famous scholar in the second century A.D. wrote the Nu'er Jing (Classic for Girls) which "outlined in more detail what were known as 'The Three Obediences' and 'The Four Virtues'. Throughout her life-cycle a woman was subject to the three authorities of her father and elder brothers when young, of her husband when married, and of her sons when widowed. The four virtues comprised, first, a 'general virtue' meaning that a woman should know her place in the universe and behave in every way in compliance with the time-honored ethical codes; second, she should be reticent in words taking care not to chatter too much and bore others; third, she must be clean of person and habits and adorn herself with a view to pleasing the opposite sex; and fourth, she should not shirk her household duties" (Croll, 1976: 13). "Lady Tsao realized the weight of the burden of housework, and urged the wife to retire late and rise early. Even though it takes her till midnight to do it, she should do what she had to do regardless of the difficulty of the undertaking. She should work until it is completed and be able to do it

neatly" (Lewis, 1900: 10).

"In the traditional ordering of the 'Five Classics', the Odes is usually placed first. Perhaps the best known of those odes which differentiate male and female, is the Ch'i-kan (Qi-Gan). In it, we are told that dreams of the brave bear presage the birth of a son while those of the lowly snake presage a daughter, and then:

> Sons shall be born to him:
> They will be put to sleep on couches
> They will be clothed in robes
> They will have sceptres to play with
> Their cry will be loud …
>
> Daughters will be born to him
> They will be put to sleep on the ground:
> They will be clothed with wrappers;
> They will have tiles to play with
> It will be theirs neither to do wrong nor to do good
> Only about the spirits and the food will they have to think,
> And to cause no sorrow for their parents.

Even the girl of good family, therefore, knew from infancy that her place was as lowly as that of the snake; that she was destined to remain inside the home, living in unfettered simplicity, subordinate to her brothers and at the disposal of her parents" (Guisso, 1981: 54).

"In the low classes, comprising 70 percent or more of all the women in China, they were not even taught to read their own family names ... it is not to be wondered at, then, that since the Sung (Song) time (420 A.D.), there has been a proverb, believed implicitly to be as true as the golden rule, 'a woman without ability is normal'" (Lewis, 1900: 14). Women did not have to be accorded a classical education to know what their status was in society. "Moral ideas were drawn into the people by every possible means — temples, theatres, homes, toys, proverbs, schools, history and stories — until they became habits in daily life. This was one of the ways in which China arraigned social stability; governing the life of the people by moral bonds" (Monlin, 1947: 9). Proverbs such as the following could not but affect the way women looked at themselves. 'Eighteen goddess-like daughters are not equal to one son with a limp.' 'It is impossible to be more malevolent than a woman.' 'A woman married is like a pony bought — to be ridden or whipped at the master's pleasure.' Daughters were also, at times, victimized by the names they were given at birth. Some of them started out in life with names such as "Little Unpleasantness and Little Mistake. A boy baby is never named with any derogatory term" (Yang, 1945: 125).

In Chinese society daughters were married outside the family with the usual consequence that all connections with the natal family were severed. Therefore, there was no incentive to educate a daughter as her family would not in any way profit from it. Educating a son, however, meant a possible opportunity for the whole family to benefit from his success. Passing the Civil Service examinations was the only way to government office other than being born into the aristocracy, or being rich enough to buy a position. "The classics were the core curriculum in schools that began the preparation of examination aspirants, and they were commonly used for moral instruction in the households of the literate. 30 to 40% of Chinese males may have possessed literacy adequate for this function. And these males were widely dispersed in Chinese families that served as exemplars and authorities to

peasants in all parts of the empire" (Stacey, 1983: 35). Thus, Confucian concepts occupied the minds of men of government, and once having reached a position of power and prestige, it was 'natural' to adhere to tradition. One could also say that "they were stunned into submissiveness and became cautious and meek officials of the court, offering little threat of inciting a rebellion. No wonder the ruler could remark with satisfaction: "All the brilliant men of the world have been trapped in my bag!" (Hsu, 1967: 103). Needless to say, there were no opportunities for women to gain access to government posts through the examination procedure. "Women scholars, artists and writers were rare and practically never derived any income from these activities" (Croll, 1978: 20). "At the age of five or six, the line of demarcation is drawn between the girl and the boy, and the mother is instructed in the 'Classic for Girls' that:

> 'When he grows to years of boyhood,
> Then a teacher call at once,
> Who will books and manners teach him, that he may not be a dunce.
> Lazy in his study will good people all annoy,
> And his indolence the prospects of his future life destroy.
>
> For your daughter in her girlhood
> To learn fancy work is best,
> Ne'er allow her to be idle-lolling to the east or to the west.
> If in youth you do not teach her, when full-grown 'twill be too late;
> When she marries it will bring her only shame, disgrace and hate" (Nu'er Jing, Headland, 1914: 23).

WOMEN AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS UNDER NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Already oppressed to a certain degree under Confucianism the development of Neo-Confucian doctrines were to drastically further oppress women in Chinese society. "Chastity, female infanticide, footbinding and the perception of women as sex objects began to prevail as social trends — trends which extended over the next seven centuries and finally climaxed in the Ch'ing (Qing) Dynasty (1644-1911)" (Yao, 1983: 75).

Once women were married, they became the property of the husband's family. Thus, a marriage arranged between families had nothing to do with the feelings of the betrothed — male or female. "The arrival of the bride's sedan chair so literally marked a commodity exchange that wedding guests in one village were observed to inspect the bride as if she were an animal just purchased at the market" (Stacey, 1983: 34). "When male families paid dearly for their women in marriage, they could be expected to exert great pressure and control to get value from their investment" (Johnson, 1983: 12). Entering into a household where their mothers-in-law were enjoying elevated status and control for the first time in their lives, it was not unusual for daughters-in-laws to suffer brutal treatment at their hands. The only way for a young wife to improve her situation within the household was to bear a son. If she was unfortunate enough to be barren, or produced only daughters, or if the husband could afford it, concubinage was allowed. "Jealously in married women was inevitable because the affection of their husbands was constantly threatened by his adoption of concubines and engaging in extramarital affairs with prostitutes. It seemed the higher the education and socio-economic status of the husband, the less happiness the wife could expect from the marriage. Under these stressful situations in which husbands had intimate relationships with many women, wives often yielded to feelings of jealously and hatred

towards these other women. However, traditional teachings prohibited them from showing their jealousy"[1] (Yao, 1983: 52). In Legge's translation of the Confucian analects he translates Confucius' only mention of women as girls, i.e. concubines. "The Master said, 'Of all people, girls and servants are the most difficult to behave to. If you are familiar with them, they lose their humility. If you maintain a reserve towards them, they are discontented'" (Legge, 1893: 330).

"Confucian norms proscribed the remarriage of widows; a widow was supposed to remain faithful to her dead husband, his family and ancestors for life" (Johnson, 1983: 14). "Physical injuries, including amputation of arms, hands, fingers, ears and toes, signified their widowed status which further prevented them from remarriage and also earned fame and fortune for their families. The main reinforcement of such zealous practices came from governmental policy. Beginning in 1367, the families of sacrificed widows were exempted by law from government service" (Yao, 1983: 81).

"The practice of prostitution in Chinese history was basically introduced and dominated by the social and intellectual elite of the upper classes" (Yao, 1983: 84) between the Han and Tang dynasties (209 B.C-618 A.D). "Women who were attractive but had no means for survival were pushed into home prostitution. The treatment of home prostitutes was nearly inhuman, their master could do anything to her he wished. Wong Kai even ordered the death of a prostitute who played her flute too softly" (Yao, 1983: 47). "Because of their inferior and "worthless" position, women were the first to be sacrificed and/or eliminated whenever and wherever the situation required" (Yao, 1983: 92). In times of economic hardship "children could be sold. There was a ready market for girls to act as servants,

[1]Clement Egerton's novel The Golden Lotus gives a vivid description of what a household of concubines was like in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.).

concubines and prostitutes but parents had first to raise them to an age when they could be useful and this they could not necessarily afford to do" (Baker, 1979: 7).

"The women subject to such abuse, sold as slave girls, or relinquishing their baby daughters for sale were those who had escaped murder at birth. Female infanticide was common, because daughters were considered an economic liability in poor families since their labor was lost at marriage. "Su-yin tells one story about a woman who had borne nine female children: 'The first was alive, and also the third; but the second had been strangled at birth by the husband and so had the fifth and the sixth; the seventh had been born in a bad year, a year of famine when her belly skin stuck to her spine, and the husband had smashed her skull in with his axe; at the eighth female child the husband had been so angry that he had hurled it against a wall; the ninth was a year old and had been given away to a neighbor. Pregnant again, superstition had brought the wife to the hospital to give birth. A neighbor had had a son at the hospital; perhaps she would too. She didn't; her tenth child was also a girl'" (McElderry, 1984: 45-46). Practiced in varying degrees throughout Chinese history, female infanticide is said to have been epidemic in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D) — reputed to be the period where women's suffering reached its highest peak. "It was also extremely prevalent in the Sung Dynasty (960-1260 A.D) — being greatly influenced by the philosophy of Neo-Confucianism which denied women basic human rights, including the right to live"[2] (Yao, 1983: 91).

There is a Chinese saying which says: 'If you care for a son, you don't go easy on his studies. If you care for a daughter, you don't go easy on her footbinding'. "This custom is attributed to one of the great love poets and the second ruler of the Tang Dynasty, Li Yu (937-978), who is supposed to have compelled his favourite concubine,Yaoniang, to bind

[2]Since the initiation of the one-child policy in 1981, female infanticide has once again become a serious problem in China, most particularly in rural areas.

her feet so as to dance on the image of a large lotus flower. At first the privilege of the aristocracy, the custom spread throughout the whole population. Mothers perform the operation on their daughters before the little girls' fifth birthdays. The toes are bent under the sole of the foot, and the broken foot is then bound with several meters of bandages that stop the circulation. The operation lasts ten to fifteen years, and the only reward of this unimaginable suffering is that it transforms a woman into a fetish, and thus, a pure object of love" (Kristeva, 1977: 81-82). One woman describes her experience as thus: "My feet hurt so much that for 2 years I had to crawl on my hands and knees. Sometimes at night they hurt so much that I could not sleep. I stuck my feet under my mother and she lay on them so they hurt less and less and I could sleep. But by the time I was eleven my feet did not hurt and by the time I was 13 they were finished" (Pruitt, 1945: 22). As one who read Grimm's fairy tales from cover to cover as a young child, the author of this thesis could not help but feel astonished to read that "the tale of Cinderella is originally an Oriental story. Indeed, 'the earliest known version happens to be Chinese, from the 9th century A.D.' The lessons here are: that tiny feet are essential to female beauty, that step-mothers (read: mothers) are cruel, that the ultimate female tragedy is not to be married" (Daly, 1978: 152). "The Chinese woman's right to marry may appear in retrospect as her right to be enslaved" (Stacey, 1983: 52). Through foot-binding men could control the movement of their property. The Nu'er Jing (The Classic for Girls) implicitly states: "Have you ever learned the reason for the binding of your feet? 'Tis from fear that 'twill be easy to go out upon the street. It is not that they are handsome when thus like a crooked bow, that ten thousand wraps and bindings are enswathed around them so" (Nu'er Jing: Headland, 1914: 77). Footbinding is a concrete example of how society can be manipulated by those in power to accept the 'unnatural' as 'natural'. "By the middle of the Ch'ing dynasty when the first grumblings of modern reform for women faintly began to be heard, Chinese women were

embedded in perhaps, the oldest, most highly developed, male-dominated kinship system in history" (Johnson, 1983: 24).

However, there is evidence that Chinese women were not always passive in their subjugation. "At periodic intervals in Chinese history, peasant women expressed their discontent and, however inadvertently, protested against their class and sexual position in Chinese society. There is some evidence that in the second century AD during the 'Yellow Turban Uprising' and during the eighteenth-century 'White Lotus Rebellion' there was a certain assertion of women's rights" (Croll, 1978: 38). However, it was in the Taiping Rebellion which took place between 1850 and 1864 where women "were encouraged to participate in decision making and were even given high-ranking positions" (Yao, 1983: 109). "They were organized into their own separate army corps under the overall leadership of Hong Xuanjiao, a sister of the Heavenly King (the leader of the rebellion). By the time the capital was established at Nanjing there numbered forty women's armies each with 2,500 soldiers" (Croll, 1978: 40). "The Taiping Rebellion was launched with the influence of the Christian doctrine. Its leader, Hung Hsui-chuan (Hong Xiu.Quan), proclaimed himself to be the second son of the Almighty God, the brother of Jesus Christ. He believed that everyone was a child of the Holy Father and entitled to equal rights, regardless of their sex" (Yao, 1983: 109). It is significant that the Taiping Rebellion broke out in Kwangsi (Guang Xi), "one of the poorest districts of the empire" (Shih, 1967: 483). "Severe famine had taken the lives of thousands between 1838 and 1841, and again between 1846 and 1850. A corrupt government continued to tax an already drained populace who must have finally been forced to ask: "Are princes, lords, generals, and prime ministers a race of their own?" When their questioning spirit was awakened, conditions which had seemed natural to them before were viewed in a different light. The contrast between their own life and the life of the wealthy must have struck them with new force" (Shih, 1967: 484). Although the

Taipings were to later to become corrupt and betray the women who had fought alongside of them, the Rebellion sowed the seeds for further change in China, one of which was to improve the status of women.

SELF-STRENGTHENING MOVEMENT OF THE 1860'S

Another important event in terms of introducing social change in China was the first Opium War in 1840. As a consequence of this war, China was forced to open its doors to the West. Thus it was made possible for missionaries to establish schools in the coast cities of Central and Southern China. "Miss Aldersey, a member of the Church of England, was the pioneer of women's education. At Ningpo (Ningbo) in 1844 she opened the first school for Chinese girls, and supported it from her own income" (Lewis, 1919: 18). It was not easy to convince the Chinese public of the merits of sending their daughters to school. The prevailing social climate was still one full of unfavourable attitudes towards women, and with no support structures in place, to make rapid change possible. "Many of the pupils were, in fact, slave girls, foundlings and beggar girls picked up off the streets" (Croll, 1978: 42). "The story is told of a Chinese, who after listening with imperturbable calm to the plea of a missionary that he should send his daughter to school, pointed to a horse standing by, with the inquiry, "Can you teach that horse to read and write? On receiving a prompt reply in the negative he exclaimed with an air of finality: If you cannot teach an intelligent horse what can you expect to do with a woman?" (Burton, 1911: 30-31). Young girls themselves did not believe they were capable of booklearning. What with their social conditioning it would have been more surprising if they had thought of themselves as able. However, the process of making women whole again in body and mind was finally starting to take place.

The Self-Strengthening Movement which started in 1861 and ended in 1895 "marked the beginning of industrialization and sowed the seeds of modern capitalism in China, with many significant repercussions, one of which was to contribute to the development of the coastal cities which would later employ a large number of industrial workers-many of them women" (Hsu, 1967: 351). The organization of women's industrial unions was to have an effect on the future success of the Chinese Communist Party.

Defeated by the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the Chinese suffered humiliating loss of face. As a result, it became obvious to government bureaucrats that political reform was necessary in China. The outcome of this war was also of particular significance to women as those in power "were convinced, for the first time, that the reason Japan had won the war was due to its westernization, including its education of women" (Yao, 1983: 110). Education for women was not seen to be important for women themselves since the 'natural' function of women was considered to be the bearing and raising of children. Their education became more of a form of insurance to guard against the further decline of China, or more particularly of China's sons.

There were several educated men who were sympathetic towards the conditions under which women were forced to live. Among these men was Li Ju-Chen who wrote Flowers in the Mirror in 1825. "The author using the satirist's device of the voyager known to us from Gulliver's Travels, imagines his hero in the 'Women's Kingdom', a land where women rule and men attempt to gain their favour. In a passage which still has considerable power to shock, Li shows his hero, having undergone the torture of footbinding at the hands of a bearded palace 'maid', being escorted powdered and rouged into the presence of the Queen. He has then to endure being ogled and pawed by the Queen until he is ready to

die of shame" (Davin, 1976: 6). Kang You-Wei (1858-1927), a child prodigy and a well-versed scholar in Neo-Confucianism, along with his student Liang Qi-Chao were advocates of radical reform. They also were open to ideas from the West. Kang believed that the only way to transform China's social ills was to "eliminate the family, so that the principle of private property no longer dominated people's thoughts" (Spence, 1981: 68). In other words he denied the validity of the 'Confucian State' that had existed in China for 2,000 thousand years and that he himself had previously recognized. He was undoubtedly influenced by his own family history. "Of his three sisters, one had died at the age of two; one was compelled at an early age to marry her sick fiance, who died nineteen days later, leaving her a childless widow for forty-three years, while her money was wasted by her late husband's clansmen; one was left a widow with three small boys and died young, in great unhappiness" (Spence, 1981: 71). "Kang Yu-Wei (Kang You-Wei) was the first to establish a society for natural feet in Canton as early as 1881. Unfortunately, he failed to achieve its goal to persuade women to abandon their suffering. Later, in 1887, the other reformation leaders including Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (Liang Qi-Chao) succeeded in forming a natural foot club in Shanghai" (Yao, 1983: 115-116). "According to the NORTH CHINA HERALD the custom only received its deathblow when a growing number of Chinese men joined the societies and took the oath that neither they nor their sons would marry a small-footed women" (Croll, 1978: 49). Lu Xun, who was to become one of the most important May Fourth writers in China, made this remark about the superiority of the male sex: "Arguments based on yin and yang were obviously 'gibberish', since even if there were such principles, one could never 'prove' one sex to be superior to the other; only a country such as China could 'create such a perverted morality', which becomes more exacting and cruel with each passing day" (Spence, 1981: 98). Like many other revolutionaries, male and female, Lu Xun had "the courageous example of his mother, for in her mature years she had boldly risked family and public censure by unbinding her own feet." (Spence,

1981: 98).

TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORM IN CHINA

The beginnings of feminist awareness

The reforms promoted by Kang and supported by the Emperor Kang-Xi, which included the abolition of the eight-legged essays[3] on the Civil Service Examination, and a "host of other radical changes that swept away the ancestral institutions and traditional procedure in administration" (Hsu, 1967: 448), were blocked by the Empress Dowager. "Though in retirement at the Summer Palace since 1889, the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi (Ci-Xi) still held the reins of government tightly" (Hsu, 1967: 447). It was she who backed the Boxer Rebellion of 1900,"which was the last, the supreme, the most desperate effort of all to keep the Middle Kingdom riveted to the standards of antiquity" (Clements, 1967: 15). "During the late Ch'ing period, the majority of scholars and officials were a 'saturated class, too content with their privileges and vested interests to want to change the existing order" (Hsu, 1967: 531). "They existed in a dream world of Chinese "culturalism", looking to antiquity for guidance instead of to the future for inspiration" (Hsu, 1967: 534). After the rebellion was quelled by foreign powers, the Dowager instituted a reform program. "Only three concrete improvements were made, namely, the abolition of the Civil Service examinations, the establishment of modern schools, and the sending of students abroad" (Hsu, 1967: 492). By 1906, 13,000 Chinese students were in Japan and by 1915 1,200 were in the U.S.

Qui Jin was one of these students. Qiu Jin, who has become a legendary figure as one of

[3]Essays which adhered to 8 rules and which were long and totally void of meaningful content.

China's earliest feminists sold her jewelery and left her family to go to study in Japan in 1904. Upon her return to China in 1906, she founded the CHINESE WOMEN'S JOURNAL in which she called upon women to look to themselves for the self-respect required to achieve self-sufficiency. Qiu Jin was a visionary in the sense that she did not feel that women's liberation lay in following in men's footsteps. As she says in the prospectus of her magazine: "my desire is that this malignant striving to follow men's footsteps to pass examinations on road to officialdom shall not enter our women's realm, we must not climb these unworthy steps, pass these inglorious grades" (Ayscough, 1938: 164). "She told her close friend the famous woman calligrapher Wu Zhiying that she felt herself to be different from the other youthful revolutionaries of her day: "Women must get educated and strive for their own independence; they can't just go on asking the men for everything. The young intellectuals are all chanting 'Revolution, Revolution,' but I say the revolutions will have to start in our homes, by achieving equal rights for women" (Spence, 1981: 89). At the same time, Qiu Jin was one of the first women to join Sun Yat-Sen's revolutionary society. For her efforts in the revolution and for her contribution to feminism she was executed within the year of her return to China from Japan.

"It was the new schools which produced and published the first women's magazines and were the centres of the patriotic, anti-dynastic and feminist activities which characterized the first decades of the twentieth century" (Croll, 1978: 57). An early issue of the PEKING WOMEN'S JOURNAL included a startling rejection of the cosmological basis of their inferior position and division of labour.

> O ye two hundred millions of Chinese, our sisters, listen! In China it is said that man is superior and women inferior; that man is noble and women vile, that men should command and women obey ... But we are not under the domination of man. The nature of men and women is the universal sense of

> heaven. How, then can one make distinctions and say that nature of man is of one sort and that of woman another? (Croll, 1978: 59)

"A number of women organized and took part in the scattered uprisings preliminary to the events of 1911. Women played a limited but conspicuous role in the event of 1911 to overthrow the Manchu government." (Croll, 1978: 62). Sun Yat-Sen was elected President of the Republic in 1911 and "when the permanent Assembly was elected in 1913 it comprised 120 members — all men" (Croll, 1978: 72). As a result, there were protests from the Chinese Women's Suffrage Association which had been formed by Tang Junying in Peking. Although the movement met with no success in obtaining female representation in the Assembly, it was significant in that it was the first organized group to voice women's concerns. At the same time, "they were limited by their own upper class backgrounds — many of the problems they faced were relevant mainly to women on the upper economic levels of Chinese society. They seldom related to the majority of their two hundred million sisters whose most immediate concern in life was often mere survival within the Chinese economic system. They failed to see how that economic system perpetuated sexual inequality with all of its attendant problems" (Beahan, 1975: 413-414). "Neither urban-working nor peasant women were involved in the women's movement at this time" (Croll, 1978: 72).

The suffragettes were put in their place, however, by the actions of Yuan Shi-Kai, the warlord who headed the Provisional Government of the Republic from 1913-1919. "In Guangdong province a number of women found with weapons were executed as a lesson to their sisters and the Ministry of Education issued instructions that all suffragettes unions throughout China were to be dissolved. These evidently had some effect for in December 1913 the NORTH CHINA HERALD loudly proclaimed that "China had shown the world

the way in dealing with the suffragettes" (Croll, 1978: 78). China was also faced with grave economic problems in this period of history, and Japan became its predator in terms of "trading off major financial loans for territorial and economic concessions inside China. As Yuan grew ever more desperate for money, their demands grew harsher" (Spence, 1981: 133). "Yuan Shi-Kai acceded to a number of Japanese demands in 1915, known as the 'Twenty-One Demands'. This treaty virtually made China a colony of Japan" (Yao, 1983: 124).

In the same year, the magazine New Youth was published by Chen Du-Xiu in the vernacular language. It is noteworthy that Chen was once a participant in the now defunct civil service examinations. "In 1896, he took part in the prefectural examination in Anhui and barely passed. At the next higher examination overseen by the provincial commissioner of education, the essay topic was taken from Mencius: Fishes and turtles will be more than consumed. On that topic Ch'en (Chen) wrote a totally meaningless and incoherent essay by using many obscure and archaic characters having to do with animals and birds, taken from some ancient works of dubious authority. For such a performance, he was awarded the highest honor" (Hu, 1984: 21). In 1915, he was to write in New Youth: "In order to advocate Mr. Democracy, we are obliged to oppose Confucianism. In order to advocate Mr. Science, we have to oppose traditional arts and traditional religion; and in order to advocate both Mr. Democracy and Mr. Science, we are compelled to oppose the cult of the "National Quintessence" and ancient literature" (Chow Tse-Tsung, 1960: 59). "Everything Ch'en advocated, such as participation of women in politics, remarriage for widows, open social activities for girls, opportunities for financial independence for women, and nuclear families, was contrary to Confucianism" (Yao, 1983: 126). The vernacular language, which replaced the classical language as the Chinese national language in 1921, served to bring the written word to more of China's peoples. A new thought movement was being

created in China through the efforts of New Youth magazine, and people such as Cai Yuan-Pei, the Chancellor of Peking University, and professors Chen Du-Xiu and Hu Shi (co-founders of the May 4th Literature Movement). The university was a hot bed of academic life made up of well-known monarchists, conservatives, reactionaries, liberals, radicals and socialists. This incredible mixture of academia exerted profound influence on the students at the university. Mao-Ze-Dong, who obtained a job as a library clerk at Peking University in 1918, was himself,very much influenced by this new thought movement.

As a result of the murder of 2 German missionaries by Chinese in 1897, Germany had been given a 99 year old lease in Shantung province along with economic concessions and privileges. At the Versailles Peace Conference held in Paris following the end of the first World War, Japan demanded to take over the German lease. With anti-Japanese sentiment already riding high in China, this sparked the protest which occurred on May fourth 1919. 3,000 students representing 13 Colleges and Universities assembled in the Square of Heavenly Peace. They marched through the streets shouting slogans such as 'China belongs to the Chinese', and 'Boycott Japanese goods'. This event was followed by a general student strike in Peking on May 19th which spread throughout China. Altogether the movement affected more than two hundred large and small cities in over 22 provinces. There was also an intensive boycott of Japanese goods. Mass arrests were made of the students by the government on June 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, and the law buildings at Bejing University were turned into a temporary prison. "Girl students came forth to join the protest. On June 4th more than a hundred of them went out to make some street speeches. On the next day, more than a thousand of them from 15 girls' schools in Peking (Beijing) assembled and marched to the President's Palace to protest against treating students as bandits and using school buildings as prisons, to request the release of the young men

under arrest, and to demand the freedom of speech — an action without precedent in Chinese history" (Chow Tse-Tung, 1960: 151).

The more immediate consequence was that China refused to sign a treaty with Germany on June 28th, 1919. But, the May fourth movement which was "to a great degree a westernization movement" (Chow Tse-Tung, 1960: 199), had a far-reaching influence upon cultural and political aspects of modern Chinese history" (Chow Tse-Tung, 1960: 117). For example, the doors of higher learning were opened to girl students in 1920; of course, it was still expected that they enter into areas regarded as suitable for women such as teaching and the arts. There is also no doubt that the May Fourth Movement provided the roots from which Chinese Communism sprang. The period of 1914 and 1928 was a time where women found themselves grouping together into various women's organizations. There were two distinctive groups: one composed of the educated elite, and the other of women engaged in labor. The former was concerned mostly with obtaining the political vote for women while the latter was occupied with the task of fighting for better wages, and better working conditions for the purposes of their own survival. Foreign capital established manufacturing industries in the coastal cities and relied on the cheap labor provided by women and children. While women were to gain more independence from the family traditions by working outside the home, Capitalism was not there to set them free as can be seen in the following description of factory conditions. "Pans on the floor served as factory toilets; there was no ventilation. In the summer temperatures in the workshops would often rise to a hundred and ten degrees Fahrenheit. We perpetually had headaches and often fainted. We were left lying where we fell ... the stench and the flies were everywhere. Women were so terrified of losing their job if it was known that they were pregnant they would bind their bellies tightly and hope their conditions would not be

noticed. It wasn't uncommon for a woman to be taken with labour-pains in the mill and have to sneak off to the toilet and have her baby there" (Cusack, 1958: 105-106). "A foreign observer in the 1920's notes that "often, two or three babies roll about on a dirty quilt. They are there by sufferance because the mothers have no place to leave their children" (McElderry, 1984: 37). Such miserable working conditions led to strike action. The first women's strike occurred in 1919, the first of many which were to erupt in the following months and years.

XIANG JINGYU — Communist female reformer

The plight of the women workers was recognized by Xiang Jingyu who was to become the leader of the Women's Department set up by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1923. It was her belief that women's emancipation lay in changing the structure of the social system, and she "therefore advocated making the women's movement a part of the overall political movement, calling on women to join in the struggle to overthrow imperialist and reactionary rule as a first step in their emancipation. One of her friends remembers how she often talked of the oppression of women and especially that of the women workers. She usually concluded the meetings with the reminder that only when intellectual women combine with women workers will they be able to understand their position and the women's movement become a movement of all women" (Croll, 1967: 121). "Xiang traveled among the major cities to agitate for and organize strikes in silk and cotton factories. She demanded better working conditions and higher wages for female laborers. She recruited uneducated female workers into her movement" (Yao, 1983: 133). "Although the Hong Kong Seaman's union strike in 1922 and the May 30th Strike Movement in 1925 (which began at a Shanghai cotton mill in which many women were involved) dominate this period, the Nanyang Tobacco Company strike in 1924 was also important. Xiang Jingyu and other women cadres participated in this strike, which ended only after

management enlisted the communities police power" (Andors, 1983: 1).

In 1923 the Kuomintang Party under the leadership of Sun Yat Sen entered into an alliance with the emerging Communist Party. And, just as 1924 was the first year in which women were to celebrate March 8th, it was also the year in which they were again to face exclusion in the political arena. Women were told that they "had no understanding of political questions, and as the Premier stated women must first be educated before they could possibly take a hand in the governing of the country" (Croll, 1978: 99). When no women were invited to Bejing to represent the country at the National Congress held in 1924, "this caused various women's organizations to constitute a national women's rights association to fight for women's representation and rights at a national level. They organized demonstrations down the streets of Bejing. When the women began to march the military forces as well as the police were ordered to prevent any demonstrations and prohibit further public meetings. This order, together with the promulgation of unequal laws in which the rights of women were overlooked altogether, was to mark the beginning of another period of suppression" (Croll, 1978: 98).

The development of women's unions started to take place in 1926 due to the efforts of 'girl propagandists' who joined the march from Canton to the great central valley of the Yangtze River under Chiang Kai-Shek with the objective of informing the peasants, workers and women of the plans of the Nationalists for the unification of the country. By taking the message of women's emancipation into the countryside, it was recognized that changing traditional social attitudes was a complex and challenging, perhaps even an impossible task. Due to lack of resources, "the women's unions were very often caught in a dilemma between their ability to live up to their ideals and expectations of the newly conscious. They

feared that if word got around that the women's union provided a home plus an education they would have been inundated not only by run-away slave girls but also by factory girls" (Croll, 1978: 140). Being a member of the female sex did not guarantee the support of all women for each other. Within the movement there were conflicts due to class and generation. "The expansion of the women's movement often brought many young educated girls and professional working women into contact with factory and peasant working women, slave girls and prostitutes. They often had to overcome their own class prejudices and cope with the considerable opposition of their parents and teachers" (Croll, 1978: 138). And, "not surprisingly, the older generation, the mothers-in-law who had at last gained a position of relative respect and authority in the household, felt threatened by the women's union to whom defiant daughters-in-law, slave girls and concubines could turn for protection" (Croll, 1978: 139). Needless to say, men were not happy about the formation of the unions. But before this situation could be reflected upon and dealt with, Chiang Kai-Shek had set out to destroy the KMT-CCP alliance. During the period of 1926 to 1927, thousands of women activists were killed. Included among them was Xiang Jingyu, the Communist leader responsible for the organization of women in labour. A correspondent of the TA KUNG-PAO (Da Gong-Bao) saw "women Communists wrapped up in cotton padded blankets soaked in gasoline burned alive. Soldiers seized any women they found with bobbed hair, which was regarded as infallible evidence of radicalism. Hundreds of girls were shot or otherwise killed after being subjected to indescribable indignities" (Isaacs, 1961: 290).

Defeated by the Kuomintang (KMT), the Communist Party stationed itself in the area of Kiangsi. And in 1934 the famous Long March began where Mao Ze-Dong was to emerge as leader of the Party and where the rural areas were to become the mainstay of the Communist Party's program and objectives. Of women Mao was to say: "A man in China

is usually subjected to the domination of systems of authority: (1) the state system (political authority) ... (2) the system of the clan (clan authority) ... and (3) the system of gods and spirits (theocratic authority) .... As to women, apart from being dominated by the three systems mentioned above, they are also dominated by men (the authority of the husband). These four kinds of authority — represent the whole ideology and institution of feudalism and patriarchy, and are the four great cords that have bound the Chinese people and particularly the peasants" (1954: 45). Although Mao recognized that women were dominated and oppressed by men, he could not afford to lose the support of the male peasants by advocating women's rights. Therefore, the stance of the Party was that once the class struggle was won, women would automatically win equal rights. Feminist groups which concerned themselves with women's issues were labelled 'elitist' and 'bourgeois'. When Ding Ling, a woman writer who had become famous as a May Fourth writer, said: "the Party had proclaimed lofty theories of gender equality, but failed to deal with the actual conditions and attitudes which held women in an inferior position, she was severely criticized for her feminist perspective and relieved of her political responsibilities for two years" (Johnson, 1983: 73). Meanwhile the women's movement under Chiang Kai-Shek had turned into what "was little more than an alms-giving club run by upper class women" (Wolf, 1985: 15). The government brought forth the New Life Movement which was nothing more than a revival of Confucianism which urged women back into the kitchen. The teachings of Confucianism were once again being used as tools by the ruling class to consolidate their power and to keep the people in their place. The liberation of women was not in their best interests. In 1935 the Communists formed an alliance with the Kuomintang government to fight against the Japanese invasion. This period lasted from 1936-1945. There were changes that occurred in favor of women in that a large percentage of women were now engaged in farm production in the liberated areas, and their membership in the CCP made up a quarter to one third of the total. This enhanced their decision making

powers which allowed them to put forth issues which were of concern to women. However, their advancement still had to be considered as minimal. Because of the CCP's reluctance to recognize women's special problems, what they won out of the revolution was "a stable family life in the traditional patriarchal style" (Wolf, 1985: 25).

REFORMS INSTITUTED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY

With the departure of Japanese troops in 1945, the CCP gave the women's movement a slightly freer reign and in 1947 instituted the Agrarian Reform Law in which land was distributed to peasants equally irrespective of age or sex. Theoretically, women were given an opportunity for economic independence as the owned now became owners of property themselves. As one woman said: "Our husbands regard us as some sort of dogs who keep the house. We even despise ourselves. But that is because for a thousand years it has been. The men go to the hsien (county) and women go to the yuan (courtyard). We were criticized if we even stepped out the door. After we get our share(of land) we will be masters of our own fate" (Hinton, 1966: 397). Perhaps it is hardly surprising that "in 1948, 64% of the civil cases in the liberated areas were divorce suits, the vast majority brought by women" (Stacey, 1975: 77). The problem which the CCP was aware of was that by liberating the female sex, it ran the danger of alienating the male peasant by taking away what was considered to be male property. Therefore, "as early as 1948, a Central Committee directive indicated that the organization of women was to be carefully managed by the Party so that it would not endanger land reform. In other words, the most militant manifestations of the women's struggle against male oppression were to be contained so as not to alienate peasant men and detract from the struggle against the landlords" (Johnson, 1983: 71).

THE STATUS OF WOMEN UNDER THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Mao Ze-Dong headed the new government which proclaimed the People's Republic of China on October first, 1949. This released a flood of hope for a nation that had suffered the wounds of foreign invasion, civil war, and internal corruption for over a century. And for the women of China, their rights were to be formally recognized in the country's new constitution. Article six of the constitution stated:

> The People's Republic of China shall abolish the feudal system which holds women in bondage. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life. Freedom of marriage for men and women shall be put into effect (Croll, 1978: 223).

In order to help achieve these objectives a National Women's Federation was formed which encompassed all former women's organizations. The platform of the first National Congress held in 1949 was to dispel the belief that women's inferiority was biologically determined. Rather, differences between men and women were attributed to ideology and cultural interpretation, and were therefore, seen as changeable. "The traditional family institution was identified as one of the main vehicles of the perpetuation of women's inferior position and it came under wide attack" (Croll, 1978: 230). It must be understood however, that the Women's Federation was under the direct control of the Party, and although its members could criticize Party policy, it had no real power to implement directives which did not come from the all male leadership at the top. Therefore, the objectives coming from the second National Congress held in 1953 were not as strong in terms of combating traditional forces, due to the fact that male resistance to the Marriage Law instituted in 1950 was proving to be stronger than anticipated. Opposition to the law which granted free choice in marriage conflicted with the economic structure as it was

connected with the traditional means of marriage. "The ACWF noted in a report on the state of affairs in Southern China that to get a divorce, there were 3 obstacles to overcome: the obstacle of the husband, of the mother-in-law, and of the cadres" (Croll, 1978: 235). "In order to safeguard the interests of poor peasants and hired laborers, many subdistrict and village cadres made a practice of rejecting automatically all applications for divorce by poor women. In the patrilineal family idiom of the rural poor, they were, rather, the 'wives of poor peasants'; a status closely resembling that of family property" (Johnson, 1983: 105). Women seeking divorce and seeking a free love marriage were often tortured and murdered; many of them committed suicide as women had done so often in the past when there was no where to turn for help and support in times of despair. Consequently numbers of women seeking a divorce dropped considerably and in 1953 divorce became much more difficult to get. "Divorce on the basis of "incompatibility" was denounced as bourgeois and divisive, and marriage came to be promoted as a positive socialist political act" (Stacey, 1975: 82). And the Party went back to saying that women would achieve emancipation through participation in productive labor outside the home.

The Great Leap Forward which took place from 1958 to 1960 was "a movement to expand the economy and increase rural and industrial production on a scale previously unknown to China. It brought with it a new opportunity to put into nationwide practice the premises of Marx, Engles, and Lenin that the introduction of women into social production was a pre-condition of their liberation" (Croll, 1978: 261). However, as things turned out "it is no exaggeration to assert that the first Five-Year Plan sacrificed women for the sake of economic growth" (Leader, 1973: 64). The slogan of the times was that women could do whatever men could do. "Yet Maoist Party leaders never thought to apply such concepts even in theory to male-female role and status distinctions. Never was it suggested, even in the most utopian movements, that men should learn from women or that men should be

sent down to the nursery or laundry to learn the value of and how to perform the nurturant human services relegated to women. Never did Maoists insist that women's traditional work be given greater respect and value; indeed the opposite was the case" (Johnson, 1983: 167). "Biology decreed that women were the bearers of children, but traditional Chinese society, like most societies, also decreed that women must be the childrearers. It is clear that child care was considered a female job, in the home, or at work" (Andors, 1983: 42). Therefore, as well as being urged into productive labor outside the home, the female was responsible for household chores and childrearing as well. With the organization of the communes, of which the purpose was to help break down the family system, there was some collectivization of household tasks. However, this did not replace the double burden of women and was later to become too expensive as a replacement for work that had previously gone unpaid. And while women were sent out to work to improve the economy of the country, they "found themselves entering a man's world organized and dominated by male political power that frequently neglected women's needs and still considered them inferior" (Johnson, 1983: 172). For example, "male leadership tended to view investment in health protection as a threat to successful completion of pressing production quotas. They said "protecting women's health means not completing production responsibilities" (Andors, 1983: 55).

It is true that women were entering into male-dominated fields such as heavy industry, and engineering, but it is also true that women in urban areas were being used to replace males doing low-level jobs in order to free them to pursue more skilled, technical, and better paying jobs in heavy industry. "Resistance to hiring women workers was largely the result of traditional attitudes towards the capabilities of women. Many supervisory personnel would not teach female workers because they did not think women capable of mastering the

skills necessary for participating in industrial labor. This kind of discrimination often kept women in the lowest level jobs and reinforced their own sense of inferiority, even when they entered heavy industry. In many cases women had to contend with on-the-job discrimination in addition to familial dissatisfaction with the decision to work" (Andors, 1983: 70). Women also faced discrimination in gaining entry to middle, technical and higher educational institutions, on the basis of their sex. And it was "only after women attended classes to learn agricultural techniques and challenged the men for the same jobs, did they begin to be awarded similar pay for similar work" (Croll, 1978: 241-42). Faced with such difficulties, one should not be surprised that women continued to suffer from low self-esteem "internalizing and perpetuating attitudes of inferiority, self-abasement and dependence" (Croll, 1978: 289).

By 1955 there were no jobs for women in the urban areas, and they were told that they could best contribute to socialist reconstruction by staying at home. As pawns of the state, they were forced into production when their labor power was required and forced back into the home when they were no longer needed. And now women were being told that they "were not to be free because their technical and cultural levels were too low to meet the needs of socialist development" (Leader, 1973: 66). Although the Women's Federation criticized the Party at the Eighth Party Congress in 1956 for the unequal treatment women were receiving and for their under-representation in the "Party, the young Communist youth league, the trade unions and urban and rural enterprises," (Croll, 1978: 258), two years later in 1958, "Tsai Ch'ang (Cai Chang), Chairman of the National Women's Federation of China called on women "to take a yet more active part in cultural, educational, medical and public health work as well as in welfare and other social services. She said women should gradually replace men in all such work that was specifically suitable for women so as to attain a more reasonable distribution of social labor force"

(Johnson, 1980: 81). This runs contrary to what the Federation proclaimed in 1949 when they said that differences between men and women were culturally determined. By saying that some areas of work are specifically suited to women infers that women have innate characteristics that make certain types of work more appropriate for them. "Legitimizing such sex-typing serves to rationalize and institutionalize discriminatory attitudes and authority structures that limit women's access to jobs in many areas of the economy. It also helps perpetuate a "natural" division of labor and authority within the family. In particular, such attitudes justify and reinforce the continuing low representation of women in more prestigious and higher-paying modern and heavy industrial sectors. For the most part, those areas where women work in large numbers are lower-status and lower-paying jobs" (Johnson, 1980: 81). "In May 1958, the birth-control campaign was abruptly called off. It was argued that the strength and wealth of China lay in its population" (Curtin, 1974: 35). Again, the interests of the nation were put before the needs of women. Although women's emancipation was to be achieved through education and participation in productive labor, this would be almost impossible if they were to take on the burden of having more children.

Obviously the liberation of women would have caused a threat to political, social and economic order. Therefore, women's issues were once again pushed aside. As well, China was experiencing severe economic difficulties. Soviet Aid was withdrawn in 1960 without warning and in 1962 ten million Chinese died of starvation. This resulted in Liu Shao-Qi and his supporters taking on the Party leadership in 1962. Consequently, the rules changed once again. "Economic development was once more the priority, and restabilization of the family was once more the order of the day. The Party issued a handbook on 'Love Marriage and the Family' which put forth the official ideology on the family. Marriage, it was asserted, is the single appropriate response to love, an emotion which it would seem

was expected to be guided primarily by the dictates of political priorities" (Stacey, 1975: 83). "One analyst found that the fictional literature of the 1962-1966 period, in contrast to previous periods, stressed the value of filial obligations, of respect for older generations, and of patriarchal authority within the family" (Johnson, 1980: 83). In issues of Women in China, stories were published which revealed that women were turning inwards toward the family as a source of happiness rather than pursuing their revolutionary goals. Unemployment for both women and men in the cities, the unresolved conflicts between outside work and inside work for women, and lingering traditional attitudes that men were superior to women, along with 'Liuist' government policies indicate the reasons for this. Two years later, with Mao back at the helm, the editor of the magazine Women in China, Dong Bian, was to be dismissed and publicly criticized for printing articles such as: "Women live for the Purpose of Raising Children," "Women Should do More Family Duties", and "For Women to Engage in Enterprises is Like Flying Kites Under the Bed" (Stacey, 1975: 83).

However, there were indications that women, particularly in the urban areas, had profited from the revolution. It was in the urban areas that women had more access to goods and services, and where husbands were more likely to give them some assistance with household tasks. The opportunities to receive an education were also better in the cities than in the rural areas. Therefore, "by 1960, women constituted 25 percent of the researchers in the Chinese Academy of Sciences and 50 percent of those in the Chemical Industry Research Institute and in the Light Industry Research Institute. Women also constituted 40 percent of the doctors in Beijing and about 30 percent of the student body in such key universities as Beijing, Chinghua (Qinghua), Beijing Union Medical College, and the Chinese University of Science and Technology" (Andors, 1983: 70). These women

represented a small minority of women, however, and as members of the educated elite, they expected, as did their male counterparts, to be rewarded for their superior position in society. In fact, as part of a Maoist strategy developed in the early sixties, educated urban youth of both sexes were sent to the countryside to work. "It is known that many urban youths, regarded living and working in the villages as little short of purgatory" (Gardner, 1971: 241). However, "whatever the problems raised by this policy, it was clear that the introduction of urban-educated women into the countryside challenged traditional attitudes about female capabilities" (Andors, 1981: 48). Urban areas also offered women more possibilities to take on political leadership. "In Peking over 30% of the cadres were women in 1963. Nevertheless, political leadership in industrial cities remained sexually imbalanced. In China, all the managerial positions in industry are filled by political appointees. Only 8 to 15% of the middle and top level positions in light industry were held by women. Women's slow political advance during this period can also be attributed to several reasons related to traditional thinking. First, heavy household and traditional family responsibilities have prevented women from going to political meetings or classes and usually the husband automatically represented the family at political gatherings. High-ranking Party members were still skeptical about women's abilities and hesitated to recruit and train young women" (Yao, 1983: 161-162).

Mao was to say to Andre Malraux in 1965: "The Chinese woman doesn't yet exist either, among the masses; but she is beginning to want to exist" (Malraux, 1967: 374). And it was during the Cultural Revolution, set into motion by Mao in 1966, that women were encouraged to 'come into existence' by getting involved in politics and seeking to develop their political awareness. The policy was, in effect, that men and women are similar and should be united in 'class struggle'. The Women's Federation was, therefore, no longer needed. "Not only was it claimed that the federation had been infiltrated by bourgeois ideas

leading it to dwell on 'narrow' family and welfare issues and to ignore the 'class education' of women, but this ultra-left line also claimed that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, women had no special interests, only common class interests with men. Therefore women did not need a separate organization, which in any case only served to divide the proletariat" (Johnson, 1983: 181).

Allowing women into the political arena was the acknowledgement of their existence as individuals within a wider group. However, this also meant that problems significant to women's gender were neglected. Women were now being called upon to organize political study groups, serve in leadership capacities, participate in productive labor, continue to do reproductive labor, housework, and raise their children. That women would have preferred to continue with the double burden in the traditional role as opposed to adding extra burdens is hardly surprising. "The Cultural Revolution created ideological and institutional opportunities for a potentially more favorable context for women's progress, but a context in which women found change difficult and in which past influences remained powerful" (Andors, 1983: 123).

Following the Cultural Revolution the women's movement re-emerged with the viewpoint that both gender and class struggle were important in terms of achieving liberation for women. The Women's Federation was re-established at provincial levels in most areas of the country in 1972 and 1973, but was not to be re-constituted at the National Level until 1978 . During this time the 'Gang of Four' headed by Jiang Qing, Mao's wife, were vying for power within the Party. It was they who were to initiate what was called the 'Anti-Confucian' Campaign in 1974. "Premier Chou-En-Lai (Zhou-En-Lai) appeared to be, in veiled historical analogy, Confucius. Yet eventually the campaign did take on the character of a real anti-Confucian culture campaign, perhaps partly because Chou was able to deflect

the attack on him into channels of genuine cultural questioning" (Johnson, 1983: 196). Women were called upon to form study groups to trace the roots of their social oppression back to Confucianism. "It was in criticizing Confucius that the women's groups said they began to realize that the traditional division of labor and the evaluation of the sexes into inferior and superior categories rested on social rather than biological foundations. As the women's group concluded from its studies,' the cruel oppression of women was not due to the biological distinction between men and women but was rooted in the social system directed by a small handful of the exploiting classes" (Croll, 1978: 324). "The Weaving Workshop of the Shanghai No. 30 Cotton Textile Mill singled out for study the Women's Classics (Nu'er Jing). The group concluded that the Confucian ideology as popularized by the Women's Classics and reflected within the experience of working women was 'like a spiritual yoke weighing a thousand catties'" (Croll, 1978: 326). Women also discussed problems of equal pay for women, patrilocal marriage customs, in which the women were married outside the family, the division of household labor, and the inadequate political representation of women.

These work study groups also helped women to build up their sense of self-worth and self-esteem. Proverbs such as 'when a woman rules the roost everything is in a mess', and 'if women go out of the house, chaos will come', still abounded in China to taunt women and to reinforce already felt feelings of inferiority. By learning about their own history, women were given an opportunity to come to understand where the roots of their oppression lay. The ensuing problem, of course, was to arrive at how to pull up these roots and plant new ones.

However, "the Chinese had come quite a distance since 1956, when official policy was

described in these terms:

> Participation in agricultural production is the inherent right and duty of rural women. Giving birth to children and raising them as well as preoccupation with household chores are also the obligation of rural women. These things set women apart from men.

Emerging from the anti-Confucian campaign was a significantly different attitude:

> Women after marriage, it is said, 'must not withdraw to the confines of family. After marriage a woman must spend much of her time and energy on household chores', but no longer is this what sets women apart from men" (Andors, 1983: 128).

The significance of this change in policy is that, for the first time, the government was saying that men should assist women with the household chores. However, in the never-ending circuit of policy changes, it was not long before this policy was to be reversed.

When the Women's Federation was re-established at the National level in 1978, it was made clear that women were to continue bearing a double burden. Kang Keqing, along with other veterans of the revolutionary movement which included Cai Chang, Deng Ying-Zhao, and Song Qing-Ling, comprised the leadership of the Women's Federation. All four women were or had been wives of prominent government officials. The message to the women of China, transmitted from the 'male Politburo' through these prominent women was: "Women workers, commune members and women scientists and technicians need to work hard and study, but they have to spend a considerable portion of their time tending to housework and children" (Andors, 1983: 151). Once more, women were relegated to the secondary ranks and back into the kitchen. Kang Keqing said of women: "Women form the main force in logistics. Among them are women childcare and education workers,

salesclerks, cooks, street sweepers, nurses, barefoot doctors and other service personnel who are making extraordinary contributions in their ordinary posts." (Andors, 1983: 152).

In 1983, the powerful Central Secretariat of the CPC transmitted the latest party line: "Turning the ACWF into the authoritative body for the protection and education of women and children" (Liu, 1986: 155). "As Wang Zhen noted in a commemoration to the Fifth National Women Congress, "only when our womenfolk have attained a higher political, ideological, technical, and cultural level can they eradicate the influence of feudal ideas in their minds, uphold planned parenthood, and bring their children up in a healthy way. The implication here is that practices like wife-beating and female infanticide, which are considered remnants of feudal thinking, are intensified because women have low ideological and cultural levels. As propagators of both children and morality, women in essence become responsible for the level of cultural and political consciousness in society" (Robinson, 1985: 52).

CHAPTER THREE

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

In 1978, Deng Xiaoping addressed the Opening Ceremony of the National Conference on Science by saying:

> Never before have the whole Party and people been so interested in science and technology and given them so much attention. Vast numbers of scientists, technicians, workers and peasants, and army men are actively participating in the movement for scientific experiment. Young people are becoming interested in science and eager to study it. The entire nation is setting out with tremendous enthusiasm on the march towards the modernization of our science and technology. Splendid prospects lie before us (1984: 40).

For women, the splendid prospects awaiting them is their liberation through the realization of the 'four modernizations'. The development of science and technology is to be the harbinger of change for women even though they, themselves, are not qualified enough to be able to 'participate' in bringing about the change. As former General Secretary of the Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, said in the following address to the Gansu Provincial Women's Congress in 1985:

> My dear female compatriots, you want true equality with men. But without education and scientific-technological knowledge and skills, how are you to do so? You lack the qualifications.
>
> (Chinese Sociology & Anthropology, 1987: 32)

The results of the questionnaire distributed at the Canada China Language Centre, as described in this chapter, hope to shed light on the reasons **why** women do not possess the

scientific and technical skills the Party considers necessary for women to have in order to gain equal stature with men. Further comments made by the students in response to certain questions are included in Appendix B.

The students at the Centre came from primarily urban centres located all around China. And although CIDA is now committed to gender equality in development, only 15 out of the 53 students at the Centre were female.

PROFESSIONS, AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

- Of these fifteen females, four were interpreters, six were teachers at the university and college level, one was a doctor, one an assistant nurse, one an associate researcher in agriculture, one an assistant engineer and one a computer assistant engineer.

- In contrast, there were eight male assistant engineers, three male engineers, eighteen males teaching at the collegial or university level, one doctor, one deputy manager, one computer programmer, one agronomist, and one assistant research fellow.

- With respect to age, the majority of both female and males were between the ages of 20 to 30.

- Of the 38 males, 24 were married, and 14 were single. Of the females, only 7 were married; 8 were single.

HOW IMPORTANT IS SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE MODERNIZATION OF CHINA?

• Both sexes felt that these two areas were of major importance. 10 of the females surveyed felt that science and technology were the most important factors for the modernization of China. Used to describe the importance of science and technology were the words **essential, indispensable, necessary, the basis for, most important,** and **key.**

• 28 of the male respondents felt that science and technology were the most important factors for the successful modernization of China. Words used to describe this role were **indispensable, most important, key, essential, basis, vital, paramount role, leading roles.**

• 3 females and 8 males wrote that **without Science and Technology there would be no 4 modernizations.**

SHOULD MORE WOMEN BE REPRESENTED IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AT THE CCLC?

• 73.3% of the females said yes, 20% replied no, and 6.7% chose not to comment.

• 47.1% of the males surveyed said yes, 47.7% said no, and 5.2% chose not to comment. Neither age nor profession has any significance as concerns these results. It is possible that marital status does. Of those who replied in the affirmative 2 (5.5%) were single and 15 (41.6%) were married; whereas, of those who replied in the negative 9 (25%) were married

and 9 (25%) were single.

• A number of reasons were given as to why women should not have more equal representation at the CCLC in the fields of science and technology. Firstly, women's ability to do scientific and technical work is questioned. Secondly, women are perceived as being more gifted in the arts, and as language learners. Thirdly, women are negated for their lack of strength, and menstruation is cited by one male respondent as detrimental to women being able to work hard and competitively. Fourthly, it is mentioned that the work units are responsible for deciding whether or not to send women in scientific and technical fields to study at the CCLC. (The leadership in the work units, who makes these kinds of decisions, is predominantly male). And fifthly, the female as mother is given as reason why she should not receive more training.

HOW CAN WOMEN CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS?

• 33 males chose to comment. Of this total 13 or 39.4% said that women could contribute the same as men. 7 (21.2%) said that women could contribute the same as men but made the following additions:

1. Plus help their husbands fulfill their tasks.
2. Should take part in more and more social activities.
3. Helping men in families.
4. But they look after their family at the same time and make their children more talented.
5. And take care of the family.
6. And do housework well.
7. Addition, no gossipy.

• There is no doubt that 6 of these men are suggesting that women should not only work as hard as men, but that they should work harder. One respondent has identified gossip with the female. It might be of interest to point out here that 'gossip' had a vital role to play in earlier times to protect the daughter-in-law from brutal treatment from her mother-in-law. Too much 'gossip' about evil treatment would result in causing the mother-in-law to lose face which was, of course, to be avoided. One might wonder if 'gossip' does not play a protective and supportive rule in Chinese society yet today.

• 12 (42.4)% of the male respondents also made definite distinctions between female and male work. It appears to the author that the comments are being made on the basis of the sexual division of labour as it actually exists in Chinese society , rather than what could indeed exist.

• Of the 13 women who chose to respond to this questions, 5 (38.5)% chose to make a distinction between what women could contribute in terms of their traditional roles as opposed to men.

SHOULD FEMALES HAVE TO SCORE HIGHER ON THE UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE EXAM THAN MALES?

• 33 (86.9%) of the male respondents felt that girls should not have to get higher scores than boys on University entrance exams. One respondent (2.6%) replied: "It is hard to say. It depends on what subjects they will study. If students study art, maybe girls will get higher scores than boys."

• 4 (10.5%) of the males responded affirmatively. Their reasons are as follows:

1. In fact, at university girl's scores on exams are lower than boys. They should select some specialties that suit them.

2. Young girl's study can be equal to boys. But in general adult women's work efficiency is poorer. If equal standard marks are given to girls more than half of women students will appear in university and in science and technology and in real society, it is inefficient.

3. Girls study harder than boys and are more careful than boys.

4. Because it is more difficult for girls to get a good job than a man.

• The first two comments reiterate the belief that women are not suited to enter certain fields of study. The third statement makes two generalizations ,which even if proved to be true, suggest that if women are more studious and more careful then these traits merit discrimination against them. The fourth statement contains a measure of truth in that it is more difficult for girls to get a good job than a man. The 'male logic' here is that by being in favor of discriminating against women in their bid to enter university, this will solve the problem of women not being able to find good jobs after graduation.

• Out of the females who responded to this question, only one woman believed that women should be penalized by having to score higher on the university entrance exams. She said: "Because girls make more efforts than boys. Also girls are more careful than boys and pay more attention on exams."

• 3 other women replied yes to this question but it was obvious from their answers that the reasons for the answers in the affirmative was because they did not feel women had any other choice but to score higher. Their comments are as follows:

1. If girls haven't got higher scores than boys on university entrance exams they may not be permitted to the top universities.

2. In China, the number of women students is less than that of male students. So girls should have to get higher scores than boys on entrance exams.

3. Because the competition in entering universities is very strong. Girls should have to get higher scores than boys on university entrance exams. Otherwise, they will be failed.

• 11 or 73.3% of the female respondents replied no to this question.

SHOULD HALF OF THE STUDENTS ENTERING TOP UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN CHINA BE WOMEN?

• 11(73.3%) of the female respondents replied affirmatively, while 3 (20%) said no. Two out of the three clearly indicated that women were not as capable as men. One stated: "Requirements in top universities and colleges are quite high. Study there is tense and heavy. It's not so easy for women students to study there." And another said: "The girl's mentality isn't as good as boys." The third respondent said that it depended on the marks achieved in the entrance examinations

• 16 (42.1%) of the male respondents replied yes, 21 (55.3%) said no, and 1 (2.6%) chose not to comment.

• Of those who said no, 8 commented that admission to the university should be on the basis of the scores of the entrance exam.

• 4 said that, at present, the possibility of sending equal numbers of females as males to top universities and colleges is impossible, and as such only represents an ideal.

• 7 respondents made specific distinctions between the capabilities of women as opposed to men. Their comments are as follows:

1. There should be more men in science and technology and more women in the arts.

2. The intelligence of women is slightly lower.

3. Adult women's work efficiency is poorer than men.

4. A large percentage of areas in science and technology are not suitable for women.

5. This is a fact. For example, in Beijing University and Qing Hua university, 70% of the students are men.

6. Some fields are difficult for women.

7. Men are good at math and science. They can continue to do research work for 30 years but women cannot perform for this period of time, generally speaking.

• I would like to comment briefly on this last statement about how women cannot do research work for 30 years. In fact, women's retirement age in China is 55 years of age, whereas it is 60 for men. This presents an obvious impediment for women either engaged in research or who are prevented or dissuaded from doing research because of the restrictions of the early retirement age. One of the reasons for women being asked to retire early is to make room for younger women in the labor force, and in turn, these older women are being encouraged to provide babysitting services for their daughters or

daughters-in-law.

ARE WOMEN/MEN CAPABLE OF BEING GOOD: ENGINEERS, SCIENTISTS, LANGUAGE TEACHERS, NURSES, MATHEMATICIANS, BUSINESS MANAGERS, AGRICULTURALISTS, DOCTORS, TECHNICIANS, FACTORY WORKERS, FACTORY MANAGERS, NEGOTIATORS ?

• The answers to these questions were revealing in that they indicated that both females and males saw certain professions as being associated with a specific gender. In comparing the affirmative responses of males and females to each of these questions, one discovers without great surprise, that women are seen as capable nurses, language teachers, and doctors by both sexes. I view this as hardly surprising because it is these professions in which women are encouraged to enter because of stereo-typical attitudes concerning women's abilities. Seeing as though males are brought up to view themselves as 'rational' and endowed with more logic than females, it is again not surprising that both males and females do not think women are capable of being good mathematicians. At the same time, a little less than half of the respondents, both males and females, entertain the possibility that women could become good mathematicians.

• In contrast only 33.3% of the females and 13.2% of the males feel that men could become capable nurses. It may be that the way in which this question was interpreted by the respondents was not whether men are actually capable of this kind of work as much as they are willing to enter into a profession which carries along with it a heavy work-load, low pay, and low status.

• Both males and females accord men the capabilities of becoming good engineers and scientists — two professions which have gained prestige in China's quest for modernization. Again women fall into a 'maybe' situation in terms of being able to become equal to men in these fields. 21% of the males and 33.3% of the females feel that women can become good engineers. 39.5% of the males and 40% of the females think that women can become good scientists. 50% of the males think that perhaps women can become good engineers as do 53.3% of the women. 42.1% of the males think that perhaps women can become good scientists as do 53.3% of the women. What is clear is that not enough women have been able to enter into these occupations to verify whether or not women can excel in these fields.

• It is interesting to note that only 60.5% of the males and 60% of the females think that women can make good factory workers. I believe this may be due to the fact that women have to leave their jobs in order to bear children. This is the reason given by work units for not wanting to hire women at all. In actual fact, the textile industry is almost totally dependent on female factory labour.

• Males and females are in agreement that men are capable of being good agriculturalists, technicians, factory mangers and negotiators. Both males and females rate women lower in terms of being able to fulfill the requirements of these occupations. However, the tendency is for the women to rate themselves a little higher than the men of whom the majority of the responses fall into the 'maybe' category. The two areas where there are significant differences is that of the factory manager and the negotiator. 66.7% of the females feel that women are capable of making good factory managers while only 23.7% of the males feel that way. 66.7% of the females also feel that women are capable of making good negotiators in contrast to only 36.9% of the males who think they are.

Figure 1: Professions males and females think males are good at doing.

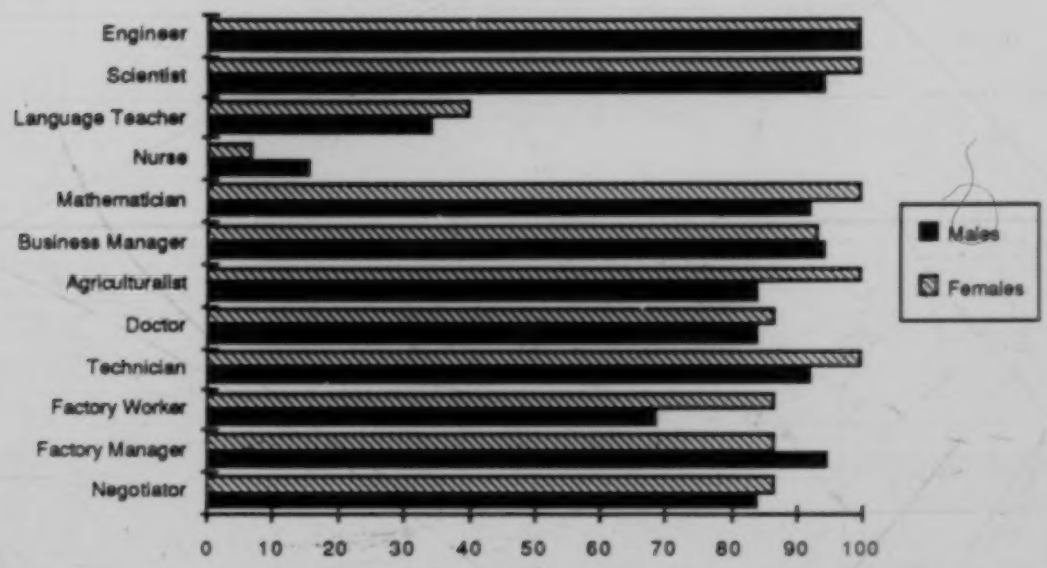
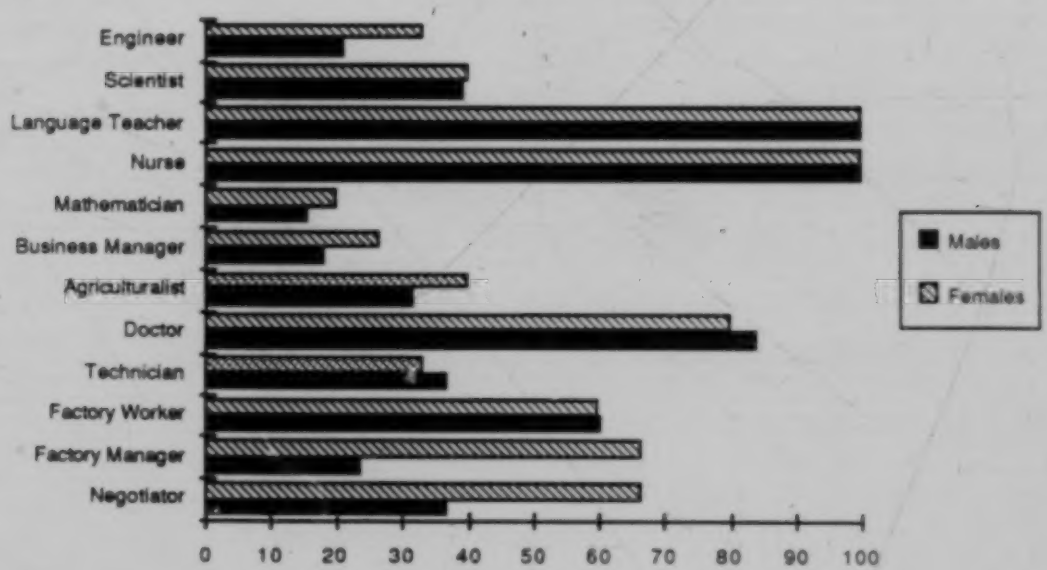


Figure 2: Professions males and females think females are good at doing.



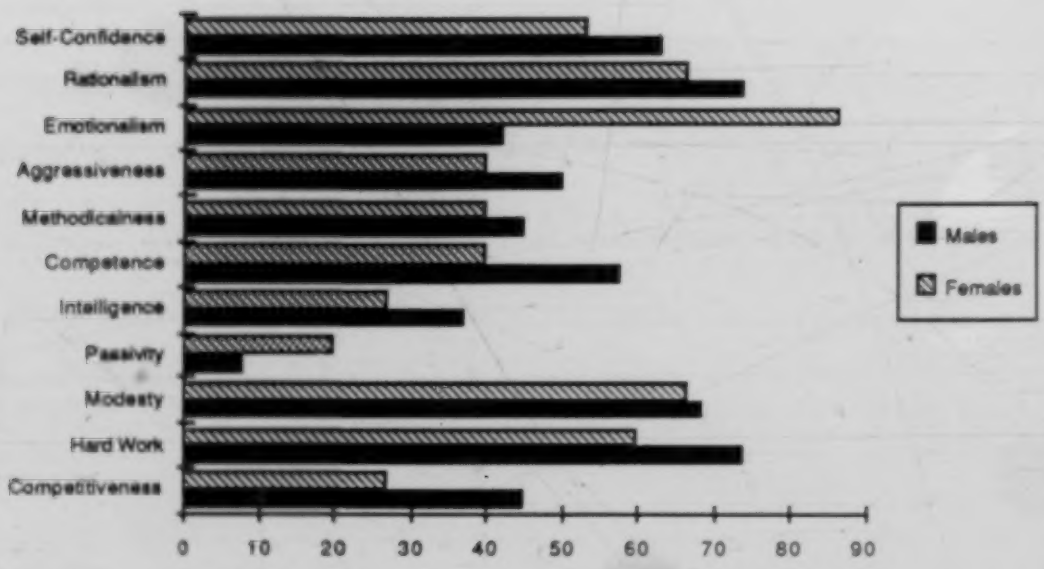
• The most important point to observe from the data collected from these questions is that the answers of males and females do not differ remarkably in terms of how they perceive sex roles as linked to careers. I believe this is a result of tradition, social conditioning, and also because there appear to be no viable alternatives for women in the near future. Unless more women have the opportunity to enter into scientific and technical fields, these perceptions and attitudes are likely to remain.

WHICH QUALITIES DO YOU IDENTIFY WITH? COMPETITIVENESS, HARD WORK, MODESTY, PASSIVITY, INTELLIGENCE, COMPETENCE, METHODICALNESS,AGGRESSIVENESS, EMOTIONALISM, RATIONALISM, SELF-CONFIDENCE.

• This question was an attempt to identify certain stereo-types that would equate certain qualities with the male and vice versa. From the results obtained, it would appear that the only significant difference may be that of 'emotionalism' with which 86.7% of the female sample identified with as compared to 42.1% of the males.

• At the same time, the fact that 42.1% of the males identified themselves as being emotional is perhaps surprising in itself considering that the stereo-typical image of the Chinese male is one of detachment — a figure of authority. Perhaps, this is a good omen for change, which is what the author proposes can and must occur in China for women to be considered as equals in real terms and not just on paper as is stated in the Chinese constitution.

Figure 3: Data from "qualities males and females identify with".



HOW MUCH WORK DO YOU DO IN THE HOME IN TERMS OF CLEANING, WASHING, COOKING, FOOD SHOPPING AND CHILD RAISING ?

• It can perhaps be surmised from this relatively small sample that men may help out more in the areas of cooking and food shopping, whereas women do more of the cleaning and washing.

• Where women do spend far more time than men is in the area of child raising. Only 43.4% of the males said that they shared 50% or more of the responsibilities of raising his child, whereas, 85.7% of the women said they bore 50% or more of the responsibility attached to raising a child. The fact that women have more responsibilities as concerns the raising and rearing of children does not give them the extra time accorded to men either for leisure, taking part in political activities, or devoting extra hours to the promotion of a successful career. As raising children is seen as a natural extension of the feminine, it is not regarded as labor. Therefore, the hours that are spent raising children are, in fact, invisible hours , and therefore, not seen as a detriment in any way to women being able to achieve as much as a man. The fact that she has not achieved positions of prominence in society are attributed to such 'societal facts' as that she is not as logical as, is not as intelligent as, is not as strong as, is not as able as — the male.

• I have found that the respondents to the questionnaire, both male and female, have had a tendency to contradict themselves. For example, a male chose to add this comment at the end of his questionnaire: "Men and women in China should have equal rights and opportunities to do everything." Yet, this same person responded earlier that he felt that there were distinctions between male and female capabilities and that more women should

not be represented in science and technology at the CCLC, because they do not do well. Looking at the responses to questions 9, 10, 11, 12, 15 and 16 as a whole, only 9 out of 38 male respondents consistently answered all the questions promoting the equality of women, without contradicting themselves. However, not one of these same men checked off yes to every career category in question 13 which asked if it was felt women would be capable of being good at certain jobs. I mention this because there are those, men and women alike, who do not think that they carry any bias against others. However, as the information in the following chapter hopes to point out is that which is accepted as 'natural' is often only a product of social conditioning in the informal sense of education.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERVIEWS WITH FEMALE AND MALE INTELLECTUALS

Through the piecing together of interviews with Chinese men and women, I would like to further substantiate the information gained from the results of the questionnaire to show how women are being left out of the scientific and technical fields which are considered as key to the four modernizations. I would like to point out that women are being left out of these fields due to their socialization and the internalization of sex-stereotypic attitudes. The perpetuation of these attitudes is effective in terms of directing women into traditional female jobs which offer little public recognition, and no power. I will look at how the university entrance exam discriminates against women, and how they experience difficulties in terms of being assigned jobs after graduation. As well, I will look at their roles as housekeepers and mothers which essentially ultimately prevents them from being able to reach powerful positions in society where they would be in a position to effect social change. "Patriarchy has a ... tenacious or powerful hold through its successful habit of passing itself off as nature." (Millet, 1971: 58). Through the windows of Chinese patriarchy one can see a society in which it is natural for men to hold positions of power in public office, to be employed in professions which if they do not pay well at least offer opportunities for international travel or high status, to have more access to education, and to enjoy more leisure time. On the other hand, the natural position of women is best seen as the caretaker, the nurturer, and the reproducer of children (preferably male). It is also deemed more natural for women to be employed in professions offering low status and low pay. "When Chinese authorities say that they are providing women with equal pay for equal work, they are not distorting reality too much. The main sources of the lower incomes women receive are attributable more to their being placed in lower wage jobs

where they benefit less from seniority than to their earning less than men when in the same occupational category with them" (Parish & Whyte, 1984: 203).

The Chinese Constitution states that men and women are equal, and a popular slogan which one often hears in China is that 'women hold up half the sky'. The question which always comes to my mind when I hear this slogan is: which half? One of the female respondents who took part in my research said:

> Now they say that women hold up half the sky. The one thing is that women will play an important role in the 4 modernizations because we have a low salary and low employment. And the woman has to work hard to support the family. So there's mostly older women working and they're holding up half the sky because they have to work to support the family.

Through my talks with men and women in China it has become quite clear that by coining women's and men's socialization process as 'natural' this only serves to protect the interests of the male sex and those of both sexes who belong to the upper official echelons of a highly stratified society. As Ruth Bleier says, "the natural woman is a cultural invention that insures the loyalty and bondage of women to the roles and functions the patriarchal order has assigned for her" (1984: 73).

SOCIALIZATION

Mothers, as the primary child caretakers in China, do indeed play a role in the socialization of their children. As one female respondent said:

> Women are responsible for developing the stereo-types of sex roles because they keep telling him or her what he or she should be able to do. What kind

> of man or woman you expect them to become. And also in terms of helping choosing a future career for the children. Considerable difference between the boys and girls. Mothers do this more than fathers because they're with the children more. Mothers influence their children much more obviously when they are under ten or when they are small because during that period they need really a lot of tender care, physical care really.When they reach a certain stage, they will look for an ideal image to be. Mother is not the image. I am not the image for my son. Because when he sees me I am always busy in the kitchen, washing-washing the floor. When he thinks of his father he is full of admiration. Oh, my daddy is studying for his PH.D. He is studying until midnight. He is busy. He's typing all the time. **I've got the mop!**

A concern among women which arose rather frequently was that because they had been taught to serve, they lacked self-confidence. One woman said:

> I think women themselves think they are weak and they don't compete with men. My mother gave me an education to be a kind woman. She hopes me to do something that other people like. Sometimes, inside, I really feel weak. I don't want my colleagues to know I'm weak. I think it's sad that many women are as sad as me.

And another said:

> I don't have a lot of self-confidence. I think I'm not intelligent enough and I feel that I achieve because of hard work. I think I work very hard. I was taught to be modest and not to have confidence. I agree that boys seem to have more confidence. Although they are not as good as me they are confident that they will be.

It is important to point out that the author does not believe in using the mother as a scapegoat for society. Mothers, as a rule, will generaliy teach their children, males or females, to embrace the values attached to the society within which they live. For example,

we have already talked about 'foot-binding' in Chapter two. Women would not have caused their girl children so much suffering had it not been that society demanded it of them. As one male respondent put it: "Small feet are a symbol which represents what males have done to females in the past." And as a female student at Beijing University said:

> Women did not create femininity. Society tells them. As a female you should do this and you should do like that. And you are inferior to men and to boys. And when the girls were babies this was how she was educated and she had subconsciously this idea of what she should do and what she shouldn't do. She should help her mother clean the house, to wash dishes and sew. All these things occupy many energies of girls.

It became apparent that women are aware of the fact that society places a higher value on males than on females. As one woman said:

> I think that both women and men are conscious of their own position within society, especially in China. For example, men say they always know — though they don't say that — they know that they are superior to women and women also know that people think that women are not as strong as men, not as good as them.

These concepts of male superiority versus female inferiority are further substantiated by remarks made by both Chinese males and females in reference to the difficulties of highly educated women finding marriage partners.

> Most men don't want to marry a woman with a higher education because they can't control her. No one wants to be controlled.
>
> (Female)

> I just have the feeling that if a woman has a higher educational background than a man, she will tend to be domineering in the family and there will be contradictions between her career and her as a housewife. Ph.D's — higher

education tend to adhere to their career more than those who have less education. But when I was looking for a wife, I think that most important was the courtship of a woman. By this I mean that she should be considerate, loyal, obedient, and hard-working. I think appearance is not so important. Just good-looking I think is o.k. And she should be filial, and responsible. She should be responsible to the family.

(Male)

If you are a woman and you are unfortunate enough to have a Ph.D no man would marry you. He would say to the PH.D: " How dare I ask you to do the household chores for me. If you don't do it, I have to do it. It hurts my pride as a male. I would rather have an ordinary woman looking after you. You don't really expect her to do all the household chores but you need that gentle, pretty figure around. You feel this in the home. Then, instead of that, you have a really capable woman, really intelligent, really bright, and you feel a bit scared. Then when you say something , you ask whether you said something right or wrong, maybe she will criticize me, try to judge me. The male works outside during the day. There's a lot of tension. When he comes home, he needs to relax but with that PH.D there, he can never relax.

(Female)

I would definitely not marry a woman with a higher education. If the woman has a higher ability than me, I will be looked down on her in the family. I would always feel that I should do more things. Yes, I have some feudal ideas.

(Male)

99.9% of those who went abroad to study were men in the past. So,when these men came back young and pretty girls wanted to marry them, they were like a commodity. If a woman came in and wasn't pretty, he wouldn't even talk to her. They didn't want a woman with a good education. They wanted someone to help them, to serve them so they didn't mind if they communicated — only wanted someone young and pretty, a good cook. There's a competition about finding a man like that in China. Some women like to be kept. She's proud and the family will be proud.

(Female)

If I were single, I would not marry a woman more educated than me. In our

> society, many people say that the young men want to marry a wife, not an expert. (Male)
>
> He didn't believe that I could pass the examination. He really didn't want me to go to university. In fact, before the examination I had some trouble with my teeth and asked him to stay home from his business trip, because I said that I needed him but he went away.
>
> (Female)

Another male said:

> I think the best characteristics for women is industriousness at doing everything in the family. She can do housework and love her husband and respect the old people. And I also hope the female is well-educated. Maybe some people won't agree with my opinion but I think females have the right to be well-educated. But I would not be happy if my wife were to come to the China Canada Language Centre and pass the exam to go to Canada.

In the first chapter, the author talked about Confucian thought as being discriminatory towards women. Compare the above with a description of Confucius as given by one of the female respondents.

> The main idea is just that women stay at home, walk around the stove and cook food and take care of the children and do the housework. That's all. Women should not receive any education. She would not be good at anything outside the home. That's Confucius' idea about women.

The only difference between the view of Confucius as given by the female and what the male respondent said of females in the present is that the male thinks that females now have the right to be well-educated. However, it does not appear that he expects the female to do anything of importance with her education. I suspect he would like his wife to be educated so that he could have the pleasure of talking with her about things that do not only concern

the house, the children, and the old people.

"I think that Confucius was not a feminist", another male respondent said. And another said: "The ruling class used the Confucian doctrine to secure their ruling position." I suggest that the Chinese Communist Party advocate these kinds of doctrines in their economic and political policies, even though they remain camouflaged under slogans such as 'Women hold up half the sky'. Even if women do see through this camouflage most of them have to go along with the 'natural' order of things in order to survive. One woman makes this comment:

Men will say that it's not good for women to be awakened. However, on the other hand, the government members are mostly composed of men. These men may express the sentiment that women should not be strong. Sometimes, the men naturally think that women should not be strong.

SEX-STEREOTYPES AND BIOLOGICAL ARGUMENTATION

> Chinese women as a majority have not realized their own rights. Sometimes they, themselves, admit to being inferior to men.
>
> — male respondent

> Ideology has the power to strip the oppressed of hope or ability to be freed, and it divides them from each other into their individual and subjective sloughs of assigned inferiority and subordination, just as it unites the namers and definers in their unassailable superiority.
>
> — Bleier,1984: 49

In Chapter three, it was found that women as well as men believe that men are more

capable than women in certain professions. I would argue that this is because women have been held back from entering these professions because of attitudes internalized from society which label females as not being naturally gifted with the skills and qualities necessary for their success in these areas. And, as a result, there are not enough female role models in these professions to challenge this point of view. As the comments given by the male and female respondents will show, there is a tendency to stereo-type masculinity and femininity. This is considered to be typical by all feminists of male-dominant culture. Jaggar in her book Feminist Politics and Human Nature (1988) says: "In contemporary society men are defined as active, women as passive; men are intellectual, women are intuitive; men are unexpressive, women emotional; men are strong, women weak; men are dominant, women submissive, etc.; ad nauseam. To the extent that men and women conform to these definitions, they are bound to be alienated from each other, holding incompatible values and views of the world" (p.316).).

The following represents some of the attitudes held by the female respondents concerning how they perceive differences between men and women:

> Men are better at math.
>
> The women are better at languages.
>
> Girls are better at memorizing. Boys are better at figuring out things.
>
> Women have no ability to manage.
>
> They say girls are better at memorizing.
>
> I do admit that I think women are weaker physically
>
> I think girls are more careful. Girls are naturally more obedient.

> The girls, generally speaking, work harder than the boys.
>
> Girls are more hardworking. The boys know how to do the important things well.
>
> In primary school and high school females usually got higher marks than males. Maybe the females intelligence developed a little later. They are good at studying and remembering ... boys at doing something. If you go out at midnight — boys and girls together — most of the boys can find the way back. I never found the road back.

In comparison, the following attitudes were verbalized by the male respondents:

> Physiologically and biologically women are actually good at memorizing things while men are more aggressive and apt to think and analyze much better than women. This is true, more or less true.
>
> Women are not good at reasoning. They are good at memorizing things.
>
> What I want to reason is that men were endowed with aggressiveness and this is true.
>
> I think according to psychologists the development of the brain of the woman goes on in a very new way.
>
> I think men are stronger than women in character.
>
> Usually there are more emotional women than men.
>
> A woman is emotional. If she meets with some difficult situations she may cry, i.e. not getting a promotion, salary raise, housing.
>
> The wife can cry and the man, the husband, must encourage her and other people in the family and continue to do a lot of things to overcome the difficulties. I think this is true of many families.

> Women are much weaker than men.
>
> Women are better at learning languages. I think it's from nature. Girl infants talk more than boy infants.
>
> I don't expect most women to have logical thinking ability.
>
> Men like to create things — not just remember some things.
>
> According to science reports, the men's right brain is bigger than the left, but the right brain is for creating something. In fact, in the world, many scientists are men not female.
>
> The woman is sometimes narrow-minded, am I right?

This last comment is interesting in that if one were to look at it historically, one could say that women may have been narrow-minded in the past since, aside from some daughters of the elite, no Chinese women were given any formal education. On the other hand, one could also say that Chinese men were also narrow-minded since the type of Confucian education which they received only taught them to conform to the status quo. What is discouraging is that these kinds of attitudes continue to persist. One woman told me:

> One of my classmates said that he would never read a novel written by a woman, that it would be narrow-minded — and he didn't want to be influenced by it.

I tend to think of the attitudes held by the males and females I have quoted as myths. One definition of the word myth in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary is "an ill-founded belief held uncritically esp. by an interested group." A myth is a belief that cannot be verified. And yet as we have seen a number of females as well as males have bought into these myths. As one woman says:

> It has been tradition and you know when you are shut into a room and you can't see anything outside and people tell you that it's daytime, you always think it's daytime, right! I think it's the same for women in China. They always say that women are not as capable as men and some of the women will think we're not strong enough. We're not bright enough. We're not capable enough. And then some of them accept this idea and they give up trying.

It may be interesting to note that the nineteenth century Darwinian theory which advocated the 'survival of the fittest' gave suit to the rise of the eugenics movement. "The upper-class Wasp's saw in eugenics a philosophical rationale that they could seize on in order to protect their "legitimate" claims to power. Most important, at a time when science was being heralded as the linchpin of American greatness and a road map to its manifest destiny, eugenics apparently offered a scientific explanation for social and economic problems and a scientific approach to their solution. In the words of Mark H. Haller, a historian and scholar in eugenics history, the eugenics movement became enormously powerful and influential precisely because it appealed to the "best people" (Howard &Rifkin, 1977: 49). It was this movement which provided the market for scientific theories attempting to prove that women are biologically inferior to men. Ivan Illich says in his book Gender (1982): " During the first two decades of the twentieth century, scientific interest fastened particularly on the difference in measurable intelligence between men and women. In the late twenties, the creation of scales for the measurement of femininity and masculinity that manifest themselves in non-intellectual characteristics became good business" (p.83). This type of scientific sexism, which exists today under the title of sociobiology, confers status and monetary rewards to those developing such theories which in turn serve to perpetuate the status quo, and as a consequence, the patriarchal system. What's more these theories have been translated and published in countries around the world.

One of the key myths is that men are good at reasoning and women are better at languages, or in more scientific terms, women are superior in verbal skills and men superior in non-verbal and visual-spatial skills. Based on the two arguments below, it is important to point out that these must still be considered as 'myth' rather than as 'scientific fact'.

Joseph S. Alper argues that "because, (1) the variation in cognitive function between the sexes is small compared with the variation in the overall population and, (2) we have no theory of brain function which would enable us to analyze the small intersex variation, the focus on sex differences cannot lead to significant scientific progress" (1985: 34). Alper believes that theories which purport to account for the social and economic differences between the sexes on the basis of sex differences in brain asymmetry have "proven to be totally bankrupt, not only morally, but also scientifically and should be rejected once and for all" (1985: 48).

Meredith M. Kimball says "It is interesting to explore some of the reasons why these theories survive and even thrive in the absence of supporting evidence. To argue that the areas in which men excel are biologically based is one way to preserve male privilege. On the other hand, verbal skills at which women excel have not been subject to such intense biological explanation" (1985: 319). Instead "on a political level, it is important to note that the greater verbal ability of girls and women is not usually interpreted as suiting them to high positions in fields such as politics, law and academics which require superior verbal skills but rather if mentioned at all, as making them particularly able to do clerical work and mothering"[4] (1985: 319).

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[4] A report published in Science,vol., 216, 25 June 1982 entitled "Sexual Dimorphism in the Human Corpus Callosum" concludes that upon the preliminary observations of 9 male and 5 female brains there are differences which could relate gender differences in the degree

I found it interesting that some of the males I interviewed did make the connection that since they felt that women were better language learners, and since China has to send students abroad to access the scientific and technical skills that are in the words of Deng Xiaoping 'the key to the four modernizations', that perhaps it would make sense to send more women abroad to study in these areas. As one male said:

> In my opinion men are superior to women in some areas. For example, science and technology or research work. But if we connect science and technology with language then we should consider women because women have great talent to study language.

There were a couple of men I interviewed who questioned the myths.

> Women are brought up in a situation which says they are not people for science and technology. They are for something else. Good housekeepers and good babysitters.
>
> But I think everyone is born to be equal. My understanding is that males and females should be treated equally.

I would like to examine three areas which have been identified by the informants as being appropriate for only one of the sexes. I will look at how physical strength is considered to be a superior male attribute, and will draw comparisons between nursing which is considered to be appropriate for females and science and technology which is looked upon as a male domain.

Physical Strength

I believe that one could say that discriminating against women on the basis of 'physical

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of lateralization for visuo spatial functions. Despite the small sample used in the research, the findings have been and continue to be deemed significant.

strength' could be set in mythology . I say this because I have seen women in China doing manual labor alongside Chinese men; it would appear that men use physical strength as a means to exclude women when there is the threat that women could move into their 'intellectual' domains. Two respondents said:

> Men can, of course, do much stronger work, hard work and earn the family more economical profits.
>
> (male respondent)

> It didn't bother her that she was one female among many males in engineering school. But one thing in China is that you have to push carts and things to take heavy loads. But my daughter is healthy so she can carry those loads.
>
> (female respondent)

Another male respondent said:

> Love of beauty is the nature of man. Why shouldn't woman be delicate?

However "as farming, forestry and animal husbandry require relatively little education and technological expertise, young women, who by and large have fewer educational opportunities than their male counterparts are forced into these job ghettoes. Although females possess less physical strength on average than males they end up, ironically, in those occupations which are more physically demanding" (Zhu & Jiang, 1987: 7). Because technology is identified more with the male sex the easier tasks have been taken over by the male and the more labor intensive duties by the female. Margery Wolf cites this example from her book Revolution Postponed (1986): "In Shandong I had another fine display of the division of labor just outside the window of my room. A small garden workshop was being built of brick and mortar. Each morning the crew would show up and the men would

kick open a sack of cement and wait for the women to bring buckets of water and baskets of sand on carrying poles. Then the men would stir them together. When a proper mix was achieved, they went over to stand by the house and have a smoke, while the women began the parade that would occupy the rest of their day, carrying first the bricks and then the mortar to the men who set the bricks one by one on the growing wall with a slap of mortar. As the wall got higher and the men farther off the ground, a pulley arrangement was set up to get the mortar and brick up to them. I waited with bated breath to see who would work the pulley. Sure enough, it turned out to be technical work, so the women were only allowed to bring the heavy loads to the lift where a man attached them to the hook and hoisted them up" (pp. 84-85).

Needless to say, no one ever mentions the physical strength women must exert in the process of child birth. Naturally, this is considered as 'natural'. And of those who participated in the rigors of the Long March undertaken by the Chinese Communist Party in 1934, one was Wang Zenan. She "covered the Long March with a pair of feet a little longer than 10 centimeters. In fact, nobody could ever count how many 'jie fang jiao' (unbound liberated feet) there were in the army" (Zhou, 1986: 5). It is obvious that women have been proving their physical strength for a long time. During the Great Leap Forward, the slogan was 'women can do what men can do', and women showed that they could. However, one never heard the slogan 'men can do what women can do', and as a result, women as 'childbearers' were not given any different treatment from men. It is interesting that it was only in 1986 that "Shanghai's more than 300,000 women workers engaging in heavy physical labor or jobs dangerous to their health are to get proper protection for the first time when a new set of regulations comes into force. More than 60% of Shanghai's women workers are given jobs deemed harmful to health even during pregnancy. Of the 180,000 women who continued to work during their pregnancy, many have suffered miscarriages,

premature delivery, or deformed or stillborn babies" (China Daily, 1986: 3).

Nursing

Nursing in China, as well as in other patriarchal societies, is a female dominated profession. Males tend to think that women are suited to this kind of work because they are 'naturally' patient and caring. They do not see themselves as possessing these kinds of qualities.

> Men are suited for all kinds of work. Women are only suited for teaching and nursing.
>
> (male respondent)

> The status of a nurse is lower than that of an engineer.
>
> (female respondent)

> I really think men cannot become a good nurse. In order for them to do that work very well, it is important for them to be patient and careful.
>
> (male respondent)

> Men have the same ability as women to be nurses, I think. But they're reluctant to do that. They think it's female work so they're reluctant to do it. Boring and unimportant work.
>
> (female respondent)

At present in China, "there is a shortage of nurses, so the nurses in the hospitals are overworked. The Ministry of Public Health stipulates that a nurse should take care of five patients. But one nurse at the hospital must take care of 40 patients on the day shift and up to 70 on the night shift. Some parents do not understand and respect nurses. Some of them even throw diapers at nurses when they find damp diapers on their children. Some dare not complain against doctors but take it out on the nurses. With extremely hard work and little

respect from society, nurses are apt to be dejected and their health deteriorates quickly" (China Daily, 1987: 3). Is it any wonder that males would think that females are more suited for this type of work?

There is an interesting comparison to be made between nursing as it exists in present day China and how Eva Gamarnikow explains how nursing was defined when it was established in Britain during the 19th Century. "Nursing was seen as emotional rather than instrumental and so nurses were defined by their moral qualities patience, humility, self-abnegation, neatness, cleanliness, punctuality, cheerfulness, kindness, tenderness and honesty rather than by their professional skills. Around the turn of the century, explicit links were made between nursing and mothering and between nursing and women's domestic work. The good nurse was considered to have the same qualities as a good wife and mother" (Jagger, 1984: 325). That the nurse is seen as possessing these same attributes in China is evident in the following statements.

> Boys just want a beautiful nurse. 1. Beautiful 2. Beautiful 3. Beautiful They want a beautiful, young, soft women to take care of him and his children. Quite a lot have this opinion.
>
> (female respondent)

> Yes, boys in Shanghai choose their future wife and several girls are very welcoming. And a nurse is one of the kind. And the girls who work in the kindergarten is also one. I think this is a fact that boys like girls who are nurses because they think the nurse can take care of them very well and they will arrange all the housework very well and when the boys come home after work they will feel that everything is o.k., so they want nurses to become their wife. Another reason is that I think the nurse's personality has something inwards going because their work needs this kind of personality. They can't always quarrel with the patient. So, I think this is a fact.
>
> (male respondent)

Many young Chinese males would like to have a beautiful girlfriend rather

> than an intelligent one. They put beauty in the first place. And a beautiful nurse is more favorable to them. On one hand, she's beautiful, patient and tender. Another thing is the nurse is always lower. They can feel proud of their wife's beauty and then they can benefit from their wife's tenderness and lead a more comfortable life and they are easy for them to control because nurses have lower status in society.
>
> (female respondent)

> Some men want to marry a beautiful nurse because he wants her to look after him carefully. Some think nurses have low positions in society. Only those people whose situations are very high have to choose females who come from higher status. Except for these people all of the males in China want to marry nurses. Some nurses don't want to marry workers and males who are lower in position and not well-educated.
>
> (male respondent)

Science and Technology

In his speech at the National Conference on Education on April 22, 1978 Deng Xiaoping said: " The key to the 4 modernizations is the modernization of science and technology. Without modern science and technology, it is impossible to build modern agriculture, modern industry or modern national defense. Without the rapid development of science and technology, there can be no rapid development of the economy" (1978: 41). The key sex in China's modernization drive is, of course, male. This is greatly due to the fact that science and technology are defined in masculine terms, and as a result, are looked upon as being superior and that which is superior commands more intelligence. This is reflected in the following comments:

> Good engineers, they need to use their brains to reason and to be a good nurse, they have to be patient
>
> (male respondent)

> You need to be more intelligent to be an engineer.
>
> (female respondent)

> I think a woman can be a good engineer in an office. The woman's work is very careful so I think a woman is suitable to be a scientist. Women cannot do some decision work such as being a manager, giving orders, making decisions. This is not suitable for a woman. If she works in a factory, I think engineering is not suitable for women.
>
> (male respondent)

> More boys are in natural sciences because they are said to be more clever.
>
> (female respondent)

> In natural science I think women are less capable than men to become a scientist. First the females around me don't like the pure science research work. Maybe it's psychological.
>
> (male respondent)

"Among the 49,000 scientists from 122 different research institutes under the Chinese Academy of Sciences, there are 17,000 women or 34% of the total. The senior women scientists account for 18% of the 7,000 senior scientists. But in the leading body of the academy, the 60 women working in leading positions account for only 7 % of the whole" (Yang, 1987: 1). In 1982, women made up 16.5% of the total enrollment at Qing Hua, the best science and engineering, university in China. "In 1982, of the 72 graduate students sent to the United States by the China University for Science and Technology, only 3 were women" (Hooper, 1984: 320). Of the 39 new Chinese students enrolled at the University of Alberta in the Fall of 1986, only 9 were female, and none of them were enrolled in science or engineering. This is not favourable to women considering that "72% of the students enrolled in higher education in China in 1984 were in the field of engineering and natural science, and only 20% were in liberal arts and 5% in foreign languages" (Liu, 1987: 129).

Why is it that women are not encouraged to enter into scientific and technical fields which

bring more respect and better financial rewards? Why are there not more women studying in these areas at the Canada China Language Centre in Beijing? A male respondent says:

> To be honest, I want to become a feminist. But in the present situation maybe more males getting a high position can make our country richer, richer quickly. Because, you know, Chinese male students, generally speaking, can do more difficult work.

A female respondent refutes the above comment by saying:

> Men are not more intelligent than women. They are given more chances. Men are more interested in science and technology. They are encouraged to do so, but women are not encouraged to choose science and technology as their occupation.

The ghettoization of women is significant in that it allows the the patriarchs to remain in control. As one woman says:

> Some of the jobs. They only want men. It's convenient to have them. It's a man's world. Why let women in?

UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS AND SEX DISCRIMINATION

Deng Xiaoping said in 1978: "Lenin emphasized time and again that the workers should not for a minute forget their need for knowledge. Without knowledge, he said, they would have no way of defending themselves, while with it they would be strong" (1984: 54-55). Within the context of the Chinese educational system, this statement contains a strong male bias. Because men control knowledge, they do remain strong. As one woman said:

> We can do something to awaken women and the most important thing is education. We can do that through education.

It may be important to state here that the large percentage of university students, male and female, come from urban centres. It is in the cities where one will find the **key** 'key schools' as established by the Ministry of Education. And within these university track schools, students are streamed into 'key' classes. Once a student is in the right class, at the right school, and has the physical stamina to maintain an excessive academic schedule, his/her entrance into a university or college is fairly well assured. So far, it would appear that not enough females have made it into these particular classrooms as females still accounted for only 26.92 percent of the total enrollment of students in regular higher educational institutions in 1983.

Indeed, education has been strongly stressed as a prerequisite for the modernization of China, and as a vehicle in which women can improve their position within society. However, as we have already seen certain roadblocks have been put in the way of women achieving equal access to the fruits of education long before actually becoming eligible to enter university. When girls receive higher results on university entrance exams than boys do, they are not usually congratulated on their intelligence. Instead, they are told that they succeeded because 'girls work harder than boys' and because 'girls are better at memorizing'. Therefore, it is only natural that they should be penalized for this even though the exam itself is constructed in such a way as to make the regurgitation of school learning the pre-requisite to pass the test. As one woman said:

> If they take the same level scores for girls and boys, there will always be more girls admitted.

However, the males interviewed seemed to be, for the most part, oblivious to the fact that females had to often have higher scores in order to enter university or college. As one male said:

> They don't have to get higher marks than male students. Maybe for some special department or profession. For example, in some hotels most clerks are men. I can't believe that most women you've talked to say that they have to get higher marks to go to university and that most men know nothing about this.

There were some men who did acknowledge that women had to get higher scores. However, this phenomenon seemed to be something that was not often discussed. Here are the voices of women on this issue:

> The girls always know that they have to score higher to get into a university. And they say sometimes like at Qing Hua, there's a difference between the boys and girls of 14-15 points and sometimes even higher of 20 points. In engineering and those things they like to have more boys.

> Especially for languages, girls have to have higher marks than boys. Especially if you want to go to a key university, you have to have higher scores. It's unfair but that's the way things go for male and female.

> You know the marks for girls are always higher than those of boys, I was told. And also there are many interesting subjects not open to females. For example, aeronautics, some chemistries, those things like high advanced technology. You could establish yourself easily, or not easily, but you could establish yourself like a man. But you are not given the chance so it's ill treatment.

> The score — up to a certain score for a male and female are the same — but actually for universities and colleges selecting students, they prefer to select male students. For instance, in the engineering department they will choose more male students than female students. And if they choose female

> students, they will have to have higher scores. They are admitted only because they are really excellent.

I think the above example is interesting since I would have taken the statement that 'women are admitted because they are excellent without thinking' at face value. However, one woman made sure to clarify this for me. Speaking through an interpreter, she said:

> You have to explain one thing to Leslie. They think the women will cause more problems than men when they enter the work unit. They will get married, and have children. They have a heavier housework burden. Men just take for granted that their wife takes on the responsibility of housework. This is the key problem for preventing women from obtaining high positions and for unequal employment opportunities. **The reason why the female has to get higher marks is because the woman will have a heavier burden.**

Two more comments made by women are:

> It had something to do with jobs that they get in the future. More units, more corporations, and ministries would like to have men and according to the state plan, they have to have more boys enrolled in the first place to ensure that more men are sent to corporations and ministries. But actually girls do better. That's why they have to raise the marks for girls.

> The women at Beijing University are very self-confident because most of them had to have higher marks than the males to get into university. But, in fact, when it comes time to get a job, it's more difficult to place the woman.

In an interview at the State Education Commission in Beijing, I was told:

> Sometimes, in some universities and colleges, where there are more girls attending, they would like to have more men. Therefore, they might lower the score for men. This happens especially in foreign language schools in

> colleges and universities. It seems that women are more adapted to language learning so they always have a higher score. And so, in this case, they usually lower the score a little for men.

Although men are given the privilege of obtaining lower scores to enter language schools, it is not often the case that women are given the same opportunity to enter schools of science and engineering with lower scores. An example was provided me by the State Education Commission:

> In Hubei province this year, the lowest score for men in engineering and physics for men was 522. And for girls they lowered the score by two points. However, this is an individual case.

It is important that the above was mentioned as an 'individual case'. As it would have been extremely difficult, and most likely impossible to obtain the statistics from the State Education Commission to prove that women have had to get higher scores in these areas in order to compete with men, I have to rely on what I have been told by women about this situation and from what I have read in the China Daily and other Chinese publications. And what with a new reform policy instituted by the government in 1986 which has put quotas on the number of male and female graduates to be hired by institutions, this problem could become more severe in the future. Although the people with whom I spoke at the State Education Commission felt that females could not be denied equal treatment under the Chinese constitution, reports in the China Daily about women facing job discrimination raised the question of whether universities might not consider enrolling fewer women in the future since it had become so difficult to place female graduates in jobs. For example, "a research institute said it would rather have a male with a poor record, when the university recommended an outstanding girl student" (China Daily, 1987: 3). In fact, "the State Education Commission and the Beijing Education Department have confirmed the existence

of the problem. They revealed that even Beijing University, one of the most prestigious universities in China, has had more than 100 women graduates rejected by units to which they were assigned. It has to make special efforts to help women find jobs. A similar problem has also been encountered by other key universities and colleges throughout China. Excuses for refusing women graduates include that women cannot match men in practice although they usually score higher than them at school. Some units claim child-birth and child rearing are also likely to prevent women from devoting themselves to their careers" (China Daily, 1987: 1).

An important comment made by one of the women at the State Education Commission was this:

> What we know of those places who return girls are major cities. The central institutions under the central government which is directly under the central government. Ministries controlled by the central government. Those are considered good places.

I think the above is important because it shows that women are not welcomed close to the male bastions of power. This is in accordance with tradition. One female said:

> We know that it's unfair to give out higher marks for girls, but there's nothing we can do about it. As women, we have got such a long history of feudalism and the people, generation after generation believed women should be dependent on men.

Indeed, why let women in? It is counterproductive to let women enter into the economical system when instead they can contribute to the economy by working at low paying jobs and perform reproductive labor at very little cost to the state. As well, because the economic structure does not allow for women to be able to provide for themselves, they have little

choice but to marry and play supportive roles within the family structure. One male answered the question as to why there were not many women in science and technology studying at the CCLC. He said:

> I'm sorry. I don't think there should be more women here. I think in China, people are influenced by feudal thought very much. Old people are influenced by feudalism. Young people are also influenced at this time. In fact, most of the students at the centre are married. In our country the housework is very hard. If female students study in the centre that means that the housework must be done by the female students' husbands or other people do this. For example, a student here when she received a cable from the Centre, her husband didn't agree to let her study here but after talking to her classmates, she decided to come here. I was told why her husband didn't agree to her studying in the Centre. The main reason is if she studied in the Centre her husband would have to take care of their child and do all the housework.

HOUSEWORK AND REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR

A letter to the editor of the China Daily, China's English newspaper, succinctly states the case for women in China. "Women with a strong commitment to their careers must work hard. In many cases, I believe that they have to work harder than their male counterparts to prove that they are their equals. On the other hand, they have to be equally committed to their homes and their motherhood. If the house is at sixes and sevens, the woman in the house will be considered incapable and unfeminine. When the child doesn't behave itself, the mother is considered to blame" (Yang, 1986: 4). A survey conducted in 1985 and 1986 of 1,500 women working in scientific and technical fields showed that "over 75 per cent of the women surveyed are obliged to handle a double day of work without significant support. With few exceptions, the majority find that their careers suffer. Moreover, close to

50 per cent of the women have to look after their ageing parents-in-law as well. Driven by their dedication to work, women scientists and researchers often read and work late into the night. After work, women spend an average of 3.5 hours on housework and 7.2 hours a day relaxing or sleeping. Moreover, hard work has impaired women's health. Only 18 per cent of the women considered themselves physically healthy. Their hardships have destroyed some of the women's confidence in the future. Only 16 percent are optimistic that their situations will improve" (China Daily, 1986: 3).

Sharing of household labor varies with individual families. However, it appears that women still tend to do more than the husband. The following are comments made by females and males on the subject. First we will hear from the females:

> In theory men and women are equal. But the one thing is that women have to work and when they get home they still have to cook, buy vegetables. If there's a child, they have to take care of the child. They're always doing more than the men. They have a heavy load — housework load. Well, it's natural. People think it's natural for women to take over the housework load. I think in other countries women still also take that load.
>
> Women are created to serve. They are needed. If you take a traditional family, for instance, the man works outside. The women cook meals, wash clothes and serve the family in a certain way. The male also serves the family. The man has more of a sense of pleasure. He's the breadwinner.
>
> My husband and myself share the housework but mostly the work is done by me because he's not capable. If you ask him to do the housework, he will come back and ask you how to do it. You have to give instructions. It's more tedious to give the instructions than to do the actual work. While I do the housework, he watches T.V. and keeps saying he's sorry. That's very kind of you and something like that.
>
> My husband said that he didn't want me to go to Canada. Without me how could he and my daughter live? Who will look after him — the clothes, the

shoes, this kind of housework. However, he said: "I know I have to suffer. If I don't suffer for you, you will complain to me forever."

And the males said:

I think if somebody's wife goes abroad or is out of the home for a long time it causes some trouble to her husband. If they have a chance to go abroad, I say O.K., but I think it's very hard for me to do the housework.

In almost every family in China, the wife does more housework than her husband.

I would try to help my wife, but unfortunately, I'm not a houseworker and sometimes I only try in vain to help my wife.

When I was a director in a factory, I was very busy but my wife supported my work and she did almost all of the housework and took care of the child. When I came back, she had a meal waiting for me. If a man is a success in his career, his wife or mother are the persons to support him.

My wife wants to stay at home very much. If I don't work and have nothing to do, I would like to stay at home and take care of the house. Sometimes, but not all the time. Why not all the time? It's hard to say, Ha, ha, ha.

Coming to the characteristics of males. Men aren't suitable to do housework and childcare.

I want to take care of my children but if I do, I do much worse than my wife. I love my children, but I really don't have enough time. I must do other things. Generally speaking, my wife has more time to take care of the children than I do. My wife is a teacher. She works at a middle school 8 hours a day. I work more than 8 hours. After I finish work I spend time to study and do other things. Even though it's not fair, my children need my wife.

It is estimated that with the one-child policy in China that the "differences in hours per day

expended in housework between a woman with one child and a woman with two children is less than one half an hour. And, in fact, having only one child places new demands on mothers and families to ensure the health, happiness and security, and future of their only progeny. It may be that in five years' time, we will find that Chinese mothers are spending as much or more time on housework and childcare in one-child families as is now spent in families with two or more children. The preciousness of the single child may prompt more housework and motherhood, not less" (Robinson, 1985: 55). Although the Chinese government has recognized the need for more childcare facilities, there are still not enough facilities. "In Beijing, Shang Hai and Chengdu, some of China's most populous cities, parents have queued up for two or three days and nights to get their children into kindergartens" (China Daily, 1987: 4). A woman from the All-China Women's Federation said:

> The All-China Women's Federation is building many kindergartens for women. Women can put the children in the kindergartens and they can work much better. The only thing we can do vigorously is to set up some kindergartens. This is the only thing the All-China Women's Federation can do and even if it is the only thing we can do, we still cannot do it well.

Some women are reluctant to send their children to state kindergartens because they are concerned about the staff having too low an education level. One woman said:

> I really don't have time to take care of my daughter. I work 8 hours a day. Another way is for me to send her to kindergarten. But some nurses in the kindergarten are not well-educated and they treat the children badly. So, if we send our child to her grandmothers, it will save us trouble and worry. I don't have time. I don't have energy, and I want my daughter to be in total care.

Another situation which has arisen in the cities is the influx of young women from the countryside who are hiring themselves out as domestics and babysitters. However, these very women who have not been given the opportunity to receive an education because of their sex, these women who have been brought up to be wives and mothers, are perceived as being too ignorant to care for children. "An investigation in 1986 conducted among 237 housemaids in Haidian district in Beijing showed that only two of them were senior high school graduates and 56, or about 20 per cent, had graduated from middle school. The rest had received only a primary education or none at all. A low education level is the main difficulty the housemaid has in trying to achieve an understanding with her employer. Parents feel reluctant to leave their only child with a housemaid who doesn't even know how to write her own name" (Chen, 1987: 4).

It appears that the only way for women to handle the burden of childcare is to work harder themselves. This is perceived as their 'natural duty' for which they are recognized only when there is trouble within society. Then they are used as 'scapegoats' for not turning out perfect enough children to create a perfect and harmonious society. I asked two females whether they thought that having a child was a contribution to society. They replied: "I don't think so." "I don't think so, but actually it is."

The fact is that what with being responsible for most of the housework and most of, or all of the child rearing, it is apparent that women are operating at a clear disadvantage to males within the workplace. As has already been mentioned, women's division of labour within the workplace starts with the socialization process, and with the internalization of 'myths' which dissuade women from entering into professions proscribed as being areas where men are more capable. However, that which truly separates the men from the women in terms of the production mode is the reproductive functions of women. And societies

expectations are that women will bear children. As one male respondent said:

> In my unit there is a typist. She is a young woman over 35 but she didn't have a child until last year. Before she had a child the colleagues would say that: "she must have a disease because she can't have a child. Why doesn't she have a child?" Others said: "Her husband, it's unfair. Her husband could have more enjoyment if she had a child." The typist, herself, thought she should have a child. She had twins. In China, if the female after 30 can't have a child, she will be looked down upon by the Chinese people.

Simply because women have the **capacity** to bear children, they are looked upon as being less productive than men and are therefore virtually non-wanted entities in the workplace. As one male said:

> In my opinion I wouldn't like to work for a woman. Too much trouble. Many, many problems. Too much housework to do. The children get sick.

Since 1949 when the Chinese Communist Party came to power the ruling ideology has been that of Marxism and Leninism. In Marxist theory women and men are deemed to be equally oppressed by those who control the mode of production — the ruling class. And it is only through the success of 'class struggle' and, as Mao added in 1958, the mechanization of agriculture and industry, that everyone will be free from the yoke of oppression. The problem that socialist feminists in the West have found with Marxist theory is that he does not acknowledge reproductive labour as something that is productive. It is seen as something so closely connected with female biology that there is no need to acknowledge it. That which is natural becomes invisible. "Marxism takes it as self-evident that human biology requires women to conceive and bear children and to be responsible at least for child care" (Jaggar, 1986: 75). "Marx translates 'male' experience of the separation of sexuality and reproduction into a priori universal truth. Thus the labor of

reproduction is excluded from the analysis, and children seem to appear spontaneously or perhaps magically. Reproductive labor, thus sterilized, does not produce value, does not produce needs, and therefore does not make history nor make men. Birth as such is contingent, immediate and uninteresting , a 'subordinate relationship" (O'Brien, 1981: 175-176).

Chinese women are also very much aware of this unequal relationship. "In socialist China public ownership of the major means of production prevails, but there has been no change in human reproduction. Husbands and wives often both work. After a child is born, brought up and educated, it should become a useful and independent labourer in society. The family invests more in a child's development than society. Yet this investment is often ignored and under-estimated by society" (Yuan & Jin, 1986: 18-19). I would replace the word 'family' with the word 'mother' since the use of the word family takes away from the fact that it is the woman who bears the larger burden of reproductive labor. This article goes on to state that because the Chinese government does not do anything to balance the inequalities faced by women due to their having to participate in reproductive labor that men tend to be more successful in their careers than women.

That giving birth is seen as a subordinate activity has certainly also been borne out in the conversations the author had with Chinese females and males. While producing a child is not seen to be connected with any kind of 'increase' in productive value, it is, however, perceived as a 'loss' of productive value. One male said this on the subject:

> Females will have a **holiday** when they have a child. The Director doesn't like that.

The author asked two males this question: "Why aren't people happy when women have children? If there weren't any children there would be no one to run the factory." The first male to respond to this question simply laughed. Ha! The second male simply uttered, uhhhh ... as though to imply that I had posed a most ridiculous question.

Part of the problem rests with the existing economic policies of the government. "At present, welfare funds for each enterprise are provided according to the total number of staff, not according to the percentage of women and men. The more women workers it has, the more funds it will have to use for childbearing and upbringing. This puts a strain on already limited welfare funds. When women workers are due to give birth, they have to ask for leave. This will also influence the economic results of the whole enterprise" (China Daily, 1986: 3). It seems as though a logical solution would be to take women's reproductive labour into account when determining production quotas in a factory. However, since this does not appear to be economically and politically feasible to the government, women continue to face discrimination.

POWER AND STATUS IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Since we have already seen that women already carry the triple burden of domestic duties, child raising, and working full-time, it is not surprising that they would not wish to take on the additional duties and responsibilities of leadership within the workplace. Also, since there are more men already in leadership positions, it makes it more difficult for a woman to first of all enter the male network, and secondly, to combat the prejudices of being one of the few women in a such a position. There is a saying in China similar to the one in the West where a woman has to prove herself to be twice as good as a man. However, in China the saying goes that a woman should do twice as much as a man to be recognized as

half as good as a man. In China, taking on positions of leadership can be risky politically. This reason seems to be cited more often by men who do not wish to take on positions of leadership than by women. However, as one male said:

> But I don't worry. I'm not afraid of that. First of all, I can get a high salary. This can change my living conditions and make my life happy. I can buy high quality clothes. I can negotiate with foreigners and some high level companies. When my wife knows this, she will think that I am a good person. I want to do some experiments in some fields. I want to do some other things. I have the power. I can control. In China, if a person becomes a leader, a person can get a higher salary. Money is important. Money is very important in China, especially now.

Let's find out how the women feel about male leadership.

> Women in high positions can't find a man. Men don't like highly educated women. In the work unit, the leaders don't give promotions. Either the job influences the housework or the housework influences the job. Women, themselves, don't have the intention to be equal to men. They choose to be inferior.
>
> When you're dealing with your boss you shouldn't appear more intelligent. Otherwise, you'll be regarded as a dangerous element. If you out do your boss, that's no good. That's dangerous. Even if he says something wrong, you have to try and explain for him to find a way not to lose face.
>
> In China now because of reform our pay scale is changing. If you get a high position as a leader, your salary will be higher than the others. But who can get the job as leaders? Of course, the opportunity is more for men than for women.
>
> But a man, maybe for a certain number of men, they think of being promoted only among themselves. They have the competition, right! Once a woman gets into the competition you have to be more capable than those men so that you'll have a chance there.

> You have a better chance for promotion if you are male. Nearly 90% of the men are section or deputy chiefs. The men have a better chance. Prejudice.
>
> Well, actually very few women are in leadership positions. In my unit, there are no women in leadership positions. But now, I think there are more women because they want to have a percentage. They always preserve a certain percentage for women.
>
> In our unit there are more than 10 members in the leader's group and only one is a woman. Usually the woman deals with things like family planning, family troubles and small things. They don't let women deal with decisions and important things.
>
> Being a leader means wasting time. I don't have enough time to myself.
>
> Personally, I'm only interested in teaching. We think that the administrative work in China means a chore, running around and doing everything.
>
> As soon as men get into that position, they would complain about the time being wasted. But they are experiencing insolvable contradictions. They complain about spending too much time on those errands but suppose you take them away from that position. The complaints would be even more.

One male leader says:

> Here in the administration, you are doing two jobs for one man's pay so it's not very attractive to some people.

When one talks to females about being leaders or how they feel about the position which society has created for them, one often hears heavy sighs of resignation.

> My mother says: "Don't mind it. You have to."
>
> Males are given more chances. There's just no way out.

> Unfair but ...
>
> That's the way things go ... for males and females.

One of the female respondents told me a story about not being assigned a desk when she was asked to join a new teaching group. When I asked her why she did not ask for a desk, she responded:

> That would be against Chinese psychology. Don't be aggressive. Be patient. Wait until things happen naturally.

Women have been waiting a long time for things to happen naturally because they have certainly not come into powerful enough positions in Chinese society to effect social change for their benefit. Let us examine who has the real power in China.

Power rests in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party. "Only one woman, Mme. Mao, has been a full member of the Chinese Politburo since the founding of the People's Republic, and there have been no women in the more powerful Politburo Standing Committee" (Jancar, 1978: 1). As of March 1986, the female representation in the upper levels of government were: "One in the State Council; two ministers (Water Conservancy and Power and the Textile Industry); seven vice-ministers; one president of a higher People's Court, and two leading bank presidents" (Tan, 1986: 41). "Women also make up 26% of the more than 18 million state cadres in China, but only 3 to 6% of the high-ranking cadres" (Parish & Whyte, 1984: 2). "The fourteen women on the Academic Committee of the Chinese Academy of Sciences are only 3.5% of its membership" (Tan, 1986: 34). "Family planning committees generally are under the control of Party committees, revolutionary committees and the leadership of various production units. Most

of these organizations tend to have a predominantly male leadership. This perpetuates women's lack of access into decision-making bodies which formulate polices that shape women's roles in Chinese society" (Andors, 1983: 162). "In general, there seems to be ample opportunities for female employees to become lower-level managers in Chinese industry and fairly numerous opportunities to make it to the middle-management level. As a female approaches the top ranges of the executive hierarchy, however, there seem to be substantially fewer opportunities for promotion" (Richman, 1969: 306). As one woman put it:

> In China it's impossible for women to get positions of decision-making. I can't see how this change can happen so that men and women can work together. How can men and women work together in China? Unreachable for men and women to make policy together.

As we have seen in the historical chapter and in a look at how women are conditioned so as not to seek power, women have never been in a position to develop a power base by occupying key positions within the state. As a result, the demands of women have only been met in accordance with the economic and political goals of the State.

The All-China Women's Federation is the government organ which is supposed to support the interests and needs of women in China. However as one male respondent said:

> **The All-China Women's Federation is a facial organization.**

The All-China Women's Federation is under the direct leadership of the Party, and as we have seen previously, its policies are malleable to those who hold the real power. As one woman said:

> I've heard about it. It's rather political. What they gained was the position for women in the People's Congress, even in the Party's Standing Central Committee. What I'd like to talk about is that even in the People's Congress or the People's Standing Committee, do those women have the power to say no against the men who say yes. Do they really have the power to decide?

A woman working at the All-China Women's Federation said:

> You know that the Women's Federation does not have a legal status of power. We can't have any decisive say for any criminal problems or whatever. So the main thing we try to do is try to have mass media publications speaking for women. And, in order to do that, we have some activities nation wide, and local places at the city level, the provincial level and the national level.

When asked about the All-China Women's Federation a woman replied:

> There is such an organization responsible for women's affairs at every level of the administration with the National Women's League at the top. And at every administrative level there is an organization. They are only in charge of things like abortion and birth control. Ha. Ha. Ha.

A spokeswoman for the organization answered the following questions:

Do you read feminist literature at the All-China Women's Organization?

> Well, we do have a lot of feminist literature here. Most of it is in English and few people may have read some.

Mostly you don't have any information about what's happening in other countries?

> We are not very informed.

Another woman I met, who also works for the organization, had this to say:

> We have information from the West on the women's movement but most of them are not read. They put them in the attic. I, myself have never seen them. No one ever translates them.

She also said:

> The people who are involved in this kind of research have problems. Some of them still haven't become conscious themselves of their position as women. For myself, I don't have the way to change this. It is just like that. They are assigned to this work. Maybe there are books related to that but it is not systematic at all. Just book reading like the history of the Communist Party.

I asked the spokeswoman for the All-China Women's Federation if there was any possibility of women setting up a women's liberation club in China. To this question she replied:

> So far as we know we do not have such clubs. Almost all women trust our organization and they regard us as our maiden home. So, whenever they have a grievance, we want them to come here to pour out their hearts to the All-China Women's Federation. If we did not have such good relations with the broad masses of women, maybe they would set up another organization outside of the All-China Women's Federation.

Another woman from the same organization said:

> Some people have started to do something on the whole but not in the form of an organization. There is no possibility of setting up another organization at the present time. Along with the present reform the situation might change.

She also said:

> The real boss of the All-China Women's Federation is a woman but this woman is the wife of the leader of the country. Mostly, they are the wives of high-ranking officials.

Another problem which occurs is that of class stratification among women who have achieved high political positions. Once on top it's easy to look down and not feel responsible for those below regardless of which sex one might happen to be. In his book How China is Ruled (1986), Alan Liu talks about the government elite as a privileged class, and how these privileges are handed down to their children. "The successors to this triumvirate elite are the member's children. Second, compared with 1949, the one social group that gained significantly in status over the decades was the military. A young Chinese, if of the 'correct' family background,would choose the military as the second career preference, the first always being a college education in science or engineering" (Liu, 1986: 315). See Appendix C.

Women obviously face serious obstacles in the path towards being able to participate in the construction of a new China as scientists and engineers. It would appear that the male dominated Communist Party would prefer that women retain their conventional roles as that of housekeepers and mothers — until such time that their labour is once again required by the State. The next chapter will look at how some people in Western countries are looking at the values of science and technology with new awareness, and what this implies for the women of China.

CHAPTER FIVE

ETHICS OF WESTERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Chapters three and four of this thesis have put forth the argument that women are not given the encouragement and opportunities to enter the male dominated professions of science and technology, which are seen as crucial to China's Modernization. This is also very much evident by looking at the numbers of males versus females studying in these fields abroad. For example, at the University of Alberta, of 39 new graduate Chinese students on campus in September of 1988, only 9 were women. 2 of these women were enrolled in Mathematics, I was enrolled in Applied Sciences in Medicine, 1 in Medicine,1 in Library Science, 1 in Education, and 1 in Foods and Nutrition. It is not known which faculty the remaining two women were registered in. Of the 30 Chinese men , 3 were in Civil Engineering, 2 were in Electrical Engineering, 3 were in Mechanical Engineering, 2 were in Mining, Metallurgy, and Petroleum Engineering, 3 were in Mathematics, 2 were in Physics, 1 was in Genetics, 1 was in Pathology, 1 was in Zoology, 1 was in Statistics and Applied Probability, 3 were in Economics, 5 were in Computing Science, 2 were in Geology, and 1 was in Law.

The fact that there are so many more Chinese males studying abroad in fields that have not been traditionally open to women poses two problems that may further serve to oppress the women of China. One is that when these students return to China, they may be offered promotions, which would give them more authority in the work place than women. Secondly, perhaps hidden assumptions within modernity itself have to be questioned. Is it not possible that there could be values attached to Western science and technology itself that are detrimental to women — as well as to human — kind as a whole? A new body of

literature has been developing written by female scientists, as well as male political writers in the West which seeks to show that science and technology is under the control of a male elite, and therefore, it's underlying values must be questioned. I will briefly look at four important areas relevant to this concern. They are the issue of who funds the universities, scientific objectivity as myth, Chinese students in Western universities, and the ethical problems associated with the transfer of Western science and technology to China.

UNIVERSITY FUNDING

Ursula Franklin, a former Professor of metallurgy at the University of Toronto, feminist and the co-founder of the Peace Movement in Canada, says:

> Canadian science is moving into an era of junk professorship and junk Ph.D's into a climate of 'the higher dishonesty'. The fastest way to make science shrivel up is to poison its cultural wells by funding solely on the basis of projected returns to businessmen or politicians (Sutherland, 1987: 44).

She goes on to say:

> To me, a scientist is a citizen with a toolbox. The great problem is that so much time is spent on improving and up-grading the tool box. While they are expert in the use of their tools, they are often quite underdeveloped as citizens. It is important not to get hypnotized by the toolbox, and to see what really happens when you use the tools. Canada used to fund science in a way that was relatively sane (1987: 45).

In The Political Economy of Science (1976), Mike Cooley states:

> In the U.S. out of 600,000 persons then engaged in scientific research, not

> more than 5,000 were allowed to choose their research subject, and less than 4% of the total expenditure was devoted to creative research which does not offer immediate prospects of profits (p.57).

THE MYTH OF SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVITY

The fact that scientific funding comes from government and corporate funding, and that "close ties between universities and industry have been enthusiastically endorsed by political leaders" (Dickson, 1984: 68), makes it important to question whether science can be called objective or not. The following comments give a feminist and political perspective of science. "How can science claim to be ideologically pure, value-free, and above all neutral, when even a well-regarded text entitled THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD offers as an example of scientific development the making and testing of napalm on a university playing field, without any references to ethical or political problems?" (Rose, 1983: 79). Hilde Hein says that men "have distinguished themselves as subject — the not quite all-seeing eye of consciousness — which observes and thereby detaches itself from the object. Even the self itself may become the object of its own subjective scrutiny, as self, divided from self, is transcendent over its object. This subject-object, distinction, the alienation of self as subject from the other as object, is declared to be the essential condition of scientific knowledge. Identified as objectivity, it is epistemologically normative, alienating the knower, the transcendent subject from the known, the transcended object. Since the pre-eminent object of scientific study is Nature, men as scientists necessarily distinguish themselves as transcendent over Nature (and hence over women)" (Hein, 1980: 371). Science which provides the logic of domination is thus sanctioned by its own definition of objectivity and the scientific man robed in his white lab coat is absolved of all blame when 'pure' science is applied to create destructive technologies.

"The myth of scientific neutrality misleads the oppressed about the class bias of existing knowledge and encourages them to believe that it expresses universal truths" (Jaggar, 1983: 378). In her book Death of Nature (1980) Carol Merchant says that "the mechanical view of nature now taught in most western schools is accepted without question as our everyday, common sense reality" (p.193). Therefore, is it not important to give students the opportunity to explore the question of what science is, what its cultural values are and who it is who decides what these values are going to be? Ellen Fox Keller says that it is important because: "unexamined myths, wherever they survive have a subterranean potency; they affect our thinking in ways we are not aware of, and to the extent that we lack awareness, our capacity to resist their influence is undermined" (1980: 76).

CHINESE MALE STUDENTS IN WESTERN UNIVERSITIES

There are considerably more Chinese males studying abroad than Chinese females, and most of these males are in scientific and technical fields. Since science in China is just as 'masculinized' as it is in the West, Chinese male students come to Western countries with already preconceived notions of what science is, and most likely, with the impression that Western Science is superior. China is now sending only students at the Master's and Ph.D level to study abroad. As women in western countries, like the women in China, are not encouraged to study science from an early age, Chinese males will only find 25% of their fellow students to be female at the Master's level and only 12% at the Ph.D level. Among the faculty members only 5% will be female. Therefore, a simple look around the laboratory could likely reinforce any stereo-typical attitudes the Chinese male is already likely to have about women not being capable in science. The same would be true for technical fields as well.

In an interview in 1988 with Dr. Margaret-Ann Armour, who is now the assistant chairperson of the Chemistry department at the University of Alberta, and who heads the group 'Women in Science', she said that science can be currently defined as that of "pushing back the frontiers of knowledge." She went on to say that "any student from the third world is going to come in and find him/herself certainly doing work on an edge which is asking questions — opening up to the frontier and answering the kinds of things people want to know about fundamentals and that's great and that's necessary science but what never happens to that I think is that it's never taken and put into any human context. In other words, the basic questions are not asked. What's the point of pushing this back? Yes, we want new knowledge but isn't there somewhere else I could be working"?

Dr. Armour also made the following observations concerning Chinese students who have come to Canada to study science.

> The larger group are the ones who come over to do a Ph.D in science but do not become immersed in the culture. They will stay together with their Chinese friends and their English level stays at pretty much the same level as when they arrived. They really keep their Chinese way of life while they are here but they do science. I think they take back North American science and presumably believe that that is **the** science.
>
> Then there is the other group of very outgoing Chinese who want to learn everything there is to know about Canadian culture and I suspect they go back with a different attitude thinking that perhaps the science is great but putting it back into perspective too because they're going to recognize the politics of it.
>
> This other group I don't think ever recognizes what goes on in the politics of science. They just come here and do it and do it because they think it's great science and that's what they should be doing and they want to take it back and do this thing at home; whereas, the other group puts the whole thing more into context. But, in my experience this second group is small.

CHINA AS IMPORTER OF WESTERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Deng Xiaoping at the 12th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in August, 1982 said the following: "We will unswervingly follow a policy of opening to the outside world and actively increase exchanges with foreign countries on the basis of mutual equality and benefit. At the same time we will keep a clear head, firmly resist corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad, and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in our country" (Hayhoe, 1984: 206).

If Chinese students studying abroad have anything to do with this at all, therein lies the implication that they have highly developed abilities for critical thought, an intense interest in learning more about western intellectual culture, and possess a deep knowledge of their own culture and traditions. From my experience of living and teaching in China, and through my interaction with Chinese students abroad, I would venture to say that this is not the case, and further it would appear that Western universities and funding agencies do not see it as their responsibility to offer opportunities for Chinese students to look at Western science and technology through critical eyes.

Very few Chinese students are being sent abroad to study in the Human Sciences to acquire the critical skills for assessing the social and cultural implications of Westernization in a Chinese context. Therefore, because China is neglecting what is considered by some to be a very important area, the West is looked upon to take responsibility. As Ruth Hayhoe says: "The transfer of technological knowledge unaccompanied by a theoretical integration into basic scientific debates would create dependency and a crude service to economic penetration as against knowledge transfers that strengthen China's own scientific base and

ability to generate new technological knowledge" (1980: 540). Management science is also now seen as important to China's modernization process. Like science and technology, it is also not seen to be as 'value free'. "Management science brings together approaches derived from such hard sciences as engineering-systems theory and operations research — with softer approaches derived from the psychology and sociology of human and organizational behaviour. While claiming to be value free, a set of technologies capable of increasing efficiency in all aspects of an economic system — socialist or capitalist — it is actually permeated with fundamental value of capitalism. Its transfer as pure technology could imply China's reintegration into the capitalist economic system on the terms of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries" (Hayhoe, 1980: 540). Since science and technology, and management science are being criticized by Western female scientists as being 'masculinized' and not that which benefits women nor humankind at large in a beneficial way, one would have to acknowledge that the transfer of the same scientific, technical, and managerial techniques to China could further the oppression of Chinese women. Of particular significance to women both in the West and in China are the implications of science in terms of developing new reproductive technologies. Germaine Greer in her book Sex and Destiny: The Politics of Human Fertility (1984), mentions, for example, that" in February 1981 the Beijing Hospital opened a premarital, family, sex and eugenic counselling service" (p.369) and later warns that "the Chinese example goes to prove one thing: once the principle of compulsory fertility limitation is accepted, there is no limit to its application" (p. 407). Christine Overall's Ethics and Human Reproduction: A Feminist Analysis (1987) and Ted Howard and Jeremy Rifkin's Who Should Play God? (1977) provide more information about what the author considers will be one of the most important ethical considerations of the twenty-first century, and therefore, at least merits mention.

And there are other problems of an equally grave nature. It has been discovered that the chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) used in the West to manufacture refrigerators, electronics, aerosol sprays, and other goods are primarily responsible for eroding the atmospheric ozone layer protecting earth from harmful ultraviolet radiation. Unless Western countries co-operate with China in terms of providing more international aid to support alternatives to the use of CFCs, "China will continue to quickly expand the use of the harmful chemicals" (Tyson, 1989: 2). Refrigerators are major pollutants, and the refrigerator is just now becoming accessible to a population of over one billion. "China produced 7.4 million refrigerators last year, 84 percent more than in 1987 and 133 times more than in 1981, the statistical bureau says" (Tyson, 1989: 2).

Perhaps there is a lesson in all of this from the ancients. "Tsze-kung asked, saying, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not RECIPROCITY such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others" (Legge, 1893: 301).

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The importance of science and technology in the modernization of China has been a consistent thread throughout this thesis. However, as we have seen in Chapter three, there appears to be a significant link between which professions males and females 'conceive' men and women to be capable of entering into, and the actual situation in society where one finds more men in certain professions such as engineering and more women in others such as nursing. There also appears to be a difference in the status accorded to the various 'male' and 'female' professions of which those in the 'male' category have the higher status.

In Chapter four, we learned that females are encouraged to enter 'female' professions by virtue of their socialization, and sex-stereotyping in which certain abilities attributed to the male are judged as superior as to those attributed to the female, and in turn these attributes have become associated with that which is deemed 'male' work and that which is deemed 'female' work. Females are further held back from pursuing entrance into such 'male' domains as science and technology by often having to score higher on the university entrance examinations. Whether women do manage to enter the 'male' dominated professions or not, they are unequal in terms of men due to the extra duties that are seen as their 'natural' duties in the form of housework, and more particularly, in the rearing of children. Because of these extra and time consuming responsiblities, women do not tend to seek promotions which would ask of them to commit more time to their work. This, in turn, causes women to be left out of decision making processes and leaves them with no power to effect change. Also, because of their household responsibilities husbands of married women do not encourage their wives to seek more educational opportunities. And

single women who are eager to pursue higher education are risking the possibility of not being able to find a husband when they are finished. Being unmarried in China, is still, I would venture to say somewhat of a social stigma.

In Chapter five, it was shown that many more Chinese males are studying abroad in science and technology than Chinese females. It was suggested that the values of Western science and technology are 'masculine' in nature, and that the transfer of these values to China may serve to further impede the progress of Chinese women in terms of their truly becoming equal to men. The original question asked in the thesis was: What will the role of urban educated women be in the 4 modernizations — with specific reference to science and technology-based on their discrimination in informal education (the socialization process) and, as a consequence, also in their formal schooling. It is obvious that Chinese women have a long way to go before they actually hold up 'half the sky' and truly become equal partners with men under the Chinese constitution. The painfully apparent question which is left to be asked is: Will there be a four modernizations at all? China has a number of problems which she must struggle with. Firstly, there is the question of population. Presently every fifth person in the world today is Chinese. Of these, 80% live in the Chinese countryside which has become once again bound in tradition. As a result there is evidence of females being sold in marriage, kept out of school to work on the land, and since the initiation of the one-child policy in 1981, there has been a re-emergence of female infanticide. This has become problematic enough that in 1988, the Chinese government initiated a new policy in which a rural couple could have a second child if the first one was a girl. 70% of the 200 million illiterates in China are women; most of them are from the countryside.

In the cities there is high unemployment, youth dissatisfaction, and a feeling of bitterness

towards the Party elite in China and the privileges which they are able to hand down to their children. The fact that party cadres are mostly from worker-peasant backgrounds also presents a problem in terms of the implementation of the scientific and technical 'techniques' which the Chinese male-more specifically — has been sent abroad to acquire. Although the government keeps reiterating that scientists and engineers are 'key' to China's modernization, these same people receive low pay and have to endure low living conditions. As well, many of them upon returning to their work units have not been assigned positions in accordance with their abilities and achievements, and have not been given the authority to implement new ideas. And as one of my informants said in a hushed voice:

Without political reform there will be no 4 modernizations.

It is too early to tell what will happen in China, but the Chinese women that I interviewed know all too well that their children will face many difficulties in the future. I will leave most of the last words of this thesis to them.

> In China there are so many problems. Not only the gender problem but also the only child problem. It's a big population and the younger generation are mostly older children. They don't know how to get along with others and the competition will be so sharp. We are very anxious about that and we want to prepare them properly for the struggle. It's very sad. Why do I send my boy to such a faraway school? I almost cried. Social struggle starts at nine.

In the discussion which followed it became clear that children had to be primed from an early age to get them ready to compete for a place in one of China's universities or colleges. It was obvious from the women with whom I spoke that education was very important for

their child's future. As a result, they are prepared to do whatever they can to ensure that their child enters the right school. As one mother said:

> In order to squeeze him into that good school, I didn't take a day's rest during the summer holidays. We went there and we literally begged. The principal was busy and pretended not to see us and we stood in front of the main gate for 3 hours waiting.

> We've got one billion people, right! Each year only 300,000 will be lucky enough to be enrolled in college and university. You can see that the % is very, very small for being lucky enough to go to college. And we intellectuals think that our children mustn't have anything less than a college education. Maybe, I'm snobbish ... I don't know. I ask myself — am I snobbish? Why can't my son be a street cleaner?

This mother knows that more privileges are accorded to males than females in China. It is not surprising that she would develop in her son that which is deemed important to manhood ... physical strength.

> I make my boy do physical exercises 2 or 3 times a day. Muscle, muscle. That is the most important thing for a man. If you don't have muscle, I don't know. If you are a man, it's a shame to ask for help in physical things. Maybe my idea is not right, but I feel that way. He will have trouble if he's not strong.

Two other mothers of daughters said:

> I hope that my daughter can be independent and do things by herself. But it is also true that people expect girls not to be as physically strong as men.

> Not only physically strong, but mentally.

Because both male and female intellectuals foresee the fierce competition ahead for their children, it is interesting that some mothers and fathers feel that it is just as important for their daughters to be strong as their sons. Comments made by four women with daughters are as follows:

> I want her to be as strong as a boy. I think it's very important for girls to be strong in character although it's not very popular. Boys don't want girls who have a strong character. They want girls who are very mild. Those boys want to find girls who do things they tell them to do. Nowadays many boys have these kinds of ideas. But, anyhow I want my daughter to be strong in character.

> I think it's not a bad thing to be competitive even for a daughter. I cannot imagine what the situation will be in her time but I think it will be more competitive — not like now where people are not so aggressive — but at that time I think people will be more aggressive that's for sure. So, its' a good thing to be aggressive even if it's a daughter.

> My daughter must be strong. We must give her an education to accustom her to have a strong nature. The education my mother gave me is to be kind, good, do anything that people like you to do. I don't want to give my daughter this kind of education. Of course, I want her to be kind but the most important is to be strong. She must realize that she has to rely on herself — not rely on any person especially her husband.

> I don't want a boy to behave like a girl, but I do want a girl to behave like a boy. That will make the female stronger. I always like her to be a strong woman. And I think even if I am strong, I sometimes get unfair treatment from men. Before the birth I thought about that. If it was a son, I'd bring him up like a ordinary man. If it was a girl, I'd like to bring it up the way I'd treat a boy so from the very beginning she would understand and be strong — at least equal to the other sex. And so one day when I was not there she would know what to do. At least she could hold her own position and not be bullied or ill-treated just because she's a different sex.

And a father said this of his daughter:

> Plum Blossom. That's the name I gave my daughter. I want her to be a useful person though she's female. I want her to be profound in learning and strong or firm in mind and physically to do better than some of the boys. I just want her to face the hard situation that she will meet in the future.

The parents of these children do not wish their daughters to follow in the paths traditionally prescribed for girl children. And they know that it means struggle. As one mother said:

> Quite a lot of women feel the way I do. We talk about the differences and we talk about discrimination and we complain. We sometimes feel sorry for ourselves being female.

And as for the future? A woman speaks:

> Everybody hopes that women will have a better future, but individually speaking, we're not very sure.

At the beginning of this thesis I stated that I wanted to give voice to the silence of the women of China. It became apparent that many of those who have spoken are aware of their oppression of women. Though muted at present, their voice has the potential to create counter symbols to the male dominant norm. Perhaps this voice will be heard and manifested by their children.

As Maxine Hong Kingston says in her book The Woman Warrior (1975):

> At last I saw that I too had been in the presence of great power, my mother talking-story. After I grew up, I heard the chant of Fa Mu Lan, the girl who took her father's place in battle. Instantly I remembered that as a child I had

followed my mother about the house, the two of us singing about how Fa Mu Lan fought gloriously and returned alive from war to settle in the village. I had forgotten this chant that was once mine, given me by my mother, who may not have known its power to remind. She said I would grow up a wife and a slave, but she taught me the song of the warrior woman, Fa Mu Lan. I would have to grow up a warrior woman (p.20).

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POSTSCRIPT

It was a Chinese friend who called me to tell me that Tianamin Square in Beijing had turned into a blood bath on June 4, 1989. Like many people I had been watching the events in China with great interest, and the last news I had had before the call was that the people had peacefully held back the soldiers of the People's Liberation Army from entering the city. Previous to this I, like many others, had rejoiced in the euphoria of large numbers of students, intellectuals, and workers, taking great risks to say what was in their hearts. On May 12th, the day of my oral defence for my thesis, I showed the events of May fourth 1989 as televised on the national news to the members of my committee. I did this to honor the students because I knew the great risks they were taking. However, I also had reservations about what I was seeing on the television set, and reading in the papers. Where was the rest of China in all of this turmoil? Were the students speaking for all of China? To those unfamiliar with China the great numbers of demonstrators (mostly male, I might add) may have made it look as though the entire country was in revolt. I am not saying that there was not discontent throughout the country. However, the focus of the Western media was on the student pro-democracy movement which it obviously supported. At the same time, it was the Western media which brought the shocking events of the massacre of June fourth to the world at large via the television set. There on television, viewers saw soldiers of the 27th division of the People's Liberation Army massacring their own people. It was numbing. It was devastating. It must be remembered.

In 1986 when I returned to Beijing I remember two incidents rather clearly. One was when I took the time to walk down a downtown avenue called Dongdan. It felt quite wonderful to be walking down one of my favorite avenues and to be taking in what one might coin 'the Chinese experience' when suddenly I found myself quite inconspicuously caught between

two worlds. Just as I came across a tailor's shop in which a Sun Yat Sen cadre's (leader's) jacket was displayed in its grey tones in the window came the powerful blasts of Whitney Houston singing "How will I know" from two speakers placed outside a nearby merchant's clothing store. Suddenly, I felt caught between East and West and wondered where indeed I was: In the East or in the West? The next experience occurred when one day, while being transported to school by bus, I hear the noise of a siren. Glancing to my left I first saw a big bus; then I saw the bars on the window, and finally I saw the prisoners with shaved heads and no emotion. I knew that these people were on their way to be executed. And I felt uncomfortable all day. I still remember that experience; the memory still makes me feel uncomfortable.

Following June 4th, the Chinese government showed that they had some ingenuity — so far not credited to them by the Western press — in their interception of satellite feeds. Thus, they changed the game rules and those caught giving their opinion contrary to the government were hunted down and arrested. "I am a counterrevolutionary", said the first known victim of Chinese international TV satellite monitoring. "I'll accept whatever punishment the party gives me. I have let down my father and my children" (Globe and Mail, June 12, 1989). This is a rather sorrowful example of how the Chinese government has used Western technology to suit their own purposes. And yet, can the West be held blameless? Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky say in their book Manufacturing Consent (1988) "A constant focus on victims of communism helps convince the public of enemy evil and sets the stage for intervention, subversion, support for terrorist states, an endless arms race, and military conflict — all in a noble cause. At the same time, the devotion of our leaders and media to this narrow set of victims raises public self-esteem and patriotism, as it demonstrates the essential humanity of country and people" (p.xv). I do not profess to know the answers myself; I merely pose the question. I do know that I

deplore tactics used by the Chinese government to encourage their people to act as informers. I also condemn public executions. "Amnesty International has released a report that thousands of Chinese face execution or long jail sentences in the wake of the crackdown" (Globe and Mail, August 30, 1989).

Since June 4th, I have received news from two of my Chinese friends, and from a Canadian friend who was present on the square the night the massacre occurred. In the letter from my Canadian friend, pictures of the square before the killings were enclosed. Looking more like a carnival than a serious political demonstration one of the pictures shows the statue of the "Goddess of Democracy" standing in stark contrast to the huge portrait of Chairman Mao hanging above the entrance to the Forbidden City. In the letter my friend writes:

> **I couldn't believe the army was using real bullets. I was down near the Square the dreaded night and actually went back to the front lines a second time, to face the bullets, because I couldn't really believe it was happening. I can't even say I was really afraid, as I ran on two occasions, dodging bullets, and seeing young people dripping with blood on the backs of flat bed bicycles being driven to first aid stations. I saw one who was far beyond first aid, in fact dead ... the blood spraying like a fountain from his jugular. The first time I felt real fear was when I saw 27 tanks roll into the city along Chanoyanmen Street. There is something about tanks rolling into a city that makes your hair stand on end. They were followed by a dozen truckloads of soldiers, battle-worn soldiers, not the sweet young People's Liberation Army types that we'd been encountering the past few weeks. They were ready for a fight. They threw a smoke bomb into the intersection and then started shooting into the crowd of onlookers. I ran into a hutong with a Chinese family and they let me stay for awhile. I was really shaken at that point.**

A Chinese friend wrote and said:

> **I am very glad to know your thesis has been accepted and that you had a successful oral. If you were here I would ask you over for supper and toast you. Thank you for your sympathy at the oral. In answer to your question the feeling is nationwide.**

Yet, another Chinese friend wrote to say:

> **First of all, I want to tell you that I AM STILL ALIVE ! Recently what most Chinese are doing is to study our top leaders' speeches, unify people's thoughts, confess their wrong doings ... however, we have a new saying which goes 'you have policy, we have strategy'. Chinese people are not as obedient as ever before. I really want to tell you more details about the event, but I'd better (I have to) wait until we meet some day later just for the sake of my life.**

I understand what this person is saying. The father of one of my Chinese friends contacted me in Japan when we were both there a few years ago. He spoke in a whisper during our entire conversation in the complete safety of my apartment in Yokohama.

Those who had never been to China and who read my thesis before the defence commented on how apathetic it sounded. This did not surprise me since I had long since heard the chants of Chinese apathy. And yet, up until June 4th, I had not fully understood it. Joanna Macy, a Buddhist scholar best describes it: "Apathy is not a lack of interest or caring, but the cover-up we create when powerlessness takes her place" (Fox, 1988: 20). Journalist John Fraser says in an article in the Globe and Mail: "What on earth can outsiders do? Precious little it would seem. Perhaps that is wrong. Perhaps, this time, we can do better than we did before. We can try to remember. As the story inevitably moves off the front

page, we can try to remember that Chinese people, the same Chinese people we saw on television during the democracy movement's golden days, who lifted up our hearts and triggered the mechanisms of hope and optimism in our souls, have not vanished from the face of the earth. They are still there in the millions. We can spare them our ability to assimilate this nightmare, we can spare them our penchant to intellectualize their adversity. We can spare the people of China both our forgetfulness, and our desire to rationalize their fate" (June 15, 1989). Yes, I will remember the students on Tianamin Square. I will remember the hope they brought with their naive heroism. Communism/Democracy ... such words do not truly contradict one another. Rather, together they express the ultimate hope for equality between the sexes, for all nationalities, for all of us whoever we may be. Perhaps we can stand to learn from those who, thus far, have experienced the ultimate technological experience — the astronauts. A member of the 1969 Apollo mission named Rusty Schweikert "was a red, white, and blue American who believed what he had always been taught — that the world is divided between the 'communist world and the free world'. Yet, while floating around Mother Earth he saw that rivers flowed indiscriminately between Russia and Europe; that ocean currents served communist, socialist, and capitalist nations alike; that clouds did not stop at borders to test for political ideology; and that *there are no nations*" (Fox, 1988: 33). Technology brought the tragedy of Tianamin to us; as witnesses we have no choice but to remember. Lest, we forget.

APPENDIX A

Letters of request and questionnaire

April 29,1987

To Whom It May Concern:

I am doing research for a Master's degree in Education at the University of Alberta on the role of educated women in the four modernizations of China. I have been teaching at the Canada China Language Centere since September of 1986 and would like to request permission to survey the students at the Centre by means of the attached questionnaire.

Your co-operation regarding this matter will be very much appreciated. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Leslie Ann Crawford

1. SEX: MALE ☐
   FEMALE ☐

2. MARITAL STATUS: MARRIED ☐
   SINGLE ☐
   ENGAGED ☐
   DIVORCED ☐

3. AGE: _____

4. PRESENT JOB TITLE:
   _____

5. HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOU BEEN EMPLOYED AT YOUR WORK UNIT?
   _____

6. HOW MANY PROMOTIONS HAVE YOU RECEIVED SINCE YOU STARTED WORKING?

1	2	3	4	NONE
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. WHAT DO YOU EXPECT YOUR JOB TITLE TO BE IN TEN YEARS?
   _____

8. HOW CAN YOU CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS?
   _____
   _____
   _____

9. HOW CAN MEN BEST CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS?
   _____
   _____
   _____

10. HOW CAN WOMEN CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS?

_____

_____

_____

11. HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU FEEL THAT SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ARE TO THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS?

_____

_____

_____

12. DO YOU THINK THAT MORE WOMEN SHOULD BE REPRESENTED AT THE CCLC IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY?

YES ☐

NO ☐

IF NO, PLEASE EXPLAIN

_____

_____

_____

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN

_____

_____

_____

13. DO YOU THINK WOMEN ARE CAPABLE OF BEING GOOD:

	YES	NO	MAYBE
ENGINEERS	☐	☐	☐
SCIENTISTS	☐	☐	☐
LANGUAGE TEACHERS	☐	☐	☐
NURSES	☐	☐	☐
MATHEMATICIANS	☐	☐	☐
BUSINESS MANAGERS	☐	☐	☐
AGRICULTURALISTS	☐	☐	☐
DOCTORS	☐	☐	☐
TECHNICIANS	☐	☐	☐
FACTORY WORKERS	☐	☐	☐
FACTORY MANAGERS	☐	☐	☐
NEGOTIATORS	☐	☐	☐

14. DO YOU THINK MEN ARE CAPABLE OF BEING GOOD:

	YES	NO	MAYBE
ENGINEERS	☐	☐	☐
SCIENTISTS	☐	☐	☐
LANGUAGE TEACHERS	☐	☐	☐
NURSES	☐	☐	☐
MATHEMATICIANS	☐	☐	☐
BUSINESS MANAGERS	☐	☐	☐
AGRICULTURALISTS	☐	☐	☐
DOCTORS	☐	☐	☐
TECHNICIANS	☐	☐	☐
FACTORY WORKERS	☐	☐	☐
FACTORY MANAGERS	☐	☐	☐
NEGOTIATORS	☐	☐	☐

15. DO YOU THINK THAT HALF OF THE STUDENTS ENTERING TOP UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN CHINA SHOULD BE WOMEN?

YES ☐

NO ☐

IF NO, PLEASE EXPLAIN

_____

_____

_____

16. DO YOU THINK THAT GIRLS SHOULD HAVE TO GET HIGHER SCORES THAN BOYS ON UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE EXAMS?

YES ☐

NO ☐

IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN

_____

_____

_____

17. PLEASE CHECK OFF ANY OF THE FOLLOWING WITH WHICH YOU IDENTIFY:

- ☐ COMPETITIVENESS
- ☐ HARD WORK
- ☐ MODESTY
- ☐ PASSIVITY
- ☐ INTELLIGENCE
- ☐ COMPETENCE
- ☐ METHODICALNESS
- ☐ AGGRESSIVENESS
- ☐ EMOTIONALISM
- ☐ RATIONALISM
- ☐ SELF-CONFIDENCE

18. IF YOU ARE MARRIED, HOW MUCH WORK DO YOU DO IN THE HOME?

	0%	25%	50%	75%	100%
CLEANING	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
WASHING	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
COOKING	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
FOOD SHOPPING	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
CHILD RAISING	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

19. PLEASE ADD ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS YOU MAY HAVE.

_____

_____

_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Leslie Ann Crawford
Canada China Language Centre
Beijing Normal University
Post Office Box 44
Beijing, People's Republic of China

Mr. Hong Bin Wen
CIDA Section
Canadian Embassy
Beijing, People's Republic of China

Dear Mr. Hong:

As I mentioned to you two weeks ago, I would be most grateful for your help in terms of trying to arrange an interview for me with someone from the State Education Commission. I will be free anytime during the last two weeks of August save for the day of the seventeenth.

I am interested in obtaining clarification of the following:

1. Are females sometimes required to achieve higher scores than males on university entrance exams in order to gain admittance to certain educational institutions?

2. Does the state plan for education include trying to enroll more women in scientific and technical fields?

3. Do traditional ways of thinking in China discourage females from pursuing careers in science and technology? Would there be other reasons as well?

4. Is there a concern that there are a lack of female role models in the fields of science and technology?

5. Are there statistics available which show how many males and females have studied and are studying abroad in scientific and technical fields?

6. It appears that female graduates of institutions of higher learning are experiencing difficulties finding jobs upon graduation. I would like to know more about this problem and whether it is likely that universities will considered enrolling fewer females as a result.

7. What is the role of education women considered to be in terms of China's 4 Modernizations?

Your assistance in this matter is greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Leslie Ann Crawford

APPENDIX B

Additional questionnaire results

FURTHER COMMENTS MADE TO OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Question 10: How can men best contribute to the four modernizations?

Question 11: How can women best contribute to the four modernizations?

By making a comparison of the answers to the question "How can you contribute to the four modernizations", and the questions "How can men best contribute to the four modernizations", and "How can women best contribute to the four modernizations", 8 male respondents make the following differentiations between what men can best contribute to the exclusion of women.

1. Searching for new insulating materials to improve the performance of our power plant.

2. Solve the problems of shortage of electricity.

3. To promote better understanding between Chinese people and people in other countries.

4. I hope that I can use some advanced technology for office automation in order to make office work more efficient.

5. Through training students and doing scientific research work.

6. Improve my academic level. Teaching well and doing research well.

7. To improve Chinese Distribution System. To advance the teaching method of marketing.

8. I should seriously carry out our government's plant quarantine regulation and prohibit any pests or disease into China.

Only one respondent indicated that he should help to shoulder social tasks as well as to be responsible in his job.

Female response to Question 11. How can women best contribute to the four modernizations?

1. For capable and intelligent women, they should devote themselves to work. As for the rest of women, they should support their husband's career by taking more care of their families and they should also perform well in their work.

2. Women can make a great deal of contribution to the 4 modernizations if they give their child a good education. Because children are the future of China. Considering the policy of one child a family there are lots of problems in the children's education. Many of the only children are spoiled. That's mainly the fault of the mothers.

3. Women are also important elements in society. They have their jobs and do lots of important things to contribute to the 4 modernizations as men do.

4. In some special areas women do their job better to the country. Ex., the best teachers in primary school are women, the educational level especially the primary school level is very important for China because it involves a lot of social problems. Therefore, women can contribute to our country as well as men.

5. Besides doing their job well, they should also pay more attention on their families in order to support their husbands, if they love their husbands.

In response to the question "How can you contribute to the 4 modernizations", none of the women mentioned any other responsibilities in addition to their jobs within the work force that would constitute contributing to the 4 modernizations. And in response to the question, "How can men best contribute to the 4 modernizations", only one woman made the distinction that women could contribute as well as men to the modernization of China, and only one woman suggested that besides doing their job well, they should pay more attention to social activities.

Male response to Question 11: How can women contribute to the 4 modernizations?

1. To do service work.

2. Do something that women can do.

3. Women can contribute to the 4 modernizations in the following fields: textile industry, health work, and education.

4. Women should do society work. The other important task given by society is management of families.

5. Women should do what women should do.

6. Using their wisdom, hard work and knowledge, devotion to their husband and children, confidence and patience.

7. Become a good wife to back up her husband's work.

8. I think in the service trade and educational and medical fields, women have equal abilities to men.

9. Health care, science, art.

10. She must depend on her own advantages, avoiding disadvantages to do her best in unit and home.

11. Women should do more light industrial work, such as making clothes, curing patients disease in hospitals and assembling t.v's.

12. Do anything except the work which needs more physical power.

Two male respondents indicated that while women are as capable as men, they are hindered by their duties in the household, and their opportunities for education.

1. Generally speaking, women have more housework at home than men. They should share the work with their husbands and make more efforts in their career.

2. Women should also get as much education as possible in order to work better and more efficiently for the 4 modernizations. Women's abilities should be tapped as fully as possible.

Question 13: Do you think that more women should be represented at the CCLC in Science and Technology?

Female response in the affirmative:

1. There are too few now. In fact, women have proved themselves by no means inferior to men in the field of science and technology.

2. In order to raise women's cultural qualification more women who work in scientific and technological fields should be sent to study at the CCLC.

3. There are more men than women in the CCLC now. I think both men and women should have equal chances to study or to succeed.

4. The female students will be more and more in the CCLC. Because the country is more advantage and more females have the chance to be educated in college.

5. Most of the teachers in the CCLC are women. I think they are capable of doing anything.

6. The exam in the CCLC is fit for those girls.

7. Women can study science and technology as well as men.

8. In some fields such as being an interpreter, women have more advantages because the young women are more lovely. In fact, when they are older ... more than 40 ... the jobs would instead go to men. The traditional idea in the teacher's mind is in the way of women in science and technology. Usually they think that women have more family troubles and have less career expectations.

Female response of those who replied no to this question:

1. The number of women at the CCLC now is quite high.

2. I personally believe that most women are not suitable to engage in science and technology, but there are exceptions, indeed.

3. Generally, women is more suitable to be a teacher especially in languages.

Male response of those who replied no to this question:

1. Because we need students to study abroad and men have more strength to study abroad than women.

2. People should be represented according to ability, not sex.

3. Women do not do well in the CCLC.

4. It all depends on what they do.

5. It depends on different situations. Generally speaking men and women are equal to study in the CCLC.

6. After women give birth they can't continue their career.

7. The women rate in CCLC is more than in science and technology Units. In general, men are more useful in the future in science and technology.

8. Women and men have equal right to study in CCLC, but coming study in CCLC is decided by various work units.

9. Because a large percentage of women is not suitable for doing science and technological work.

10. There are two reasons. First, female professionals are less dedicated than males. Second, there are more suitable kinds of work for women to do such as teacher, doctors. In this case, it will be beneficial both to society and women themselves.

11. Women have the genius to study language instead of science and technology.

12. Both scientifically and statistically speaking men are better at science and technology.

13. Up to their unit.

14. According to different physiology and character between men and women, which man is good at logical analysis and woman is good at art and abstract thought, so I think that there should be less women.

15. If more women come here to study, less men come here.

16. If they have ability in science and technology , they can go to the CCLC. In fact, there are only a few women studying to go to the Centre.

17. Women's muscles are softer than men's and women have menstruation monthly which is not beneficial for them to do some hard and competitive work.

18. Comparatively speaking, women are weak in science and technology.

Male response of those who answered in the affirmative:

1. Women will play an important role in the 4 modernizations. To exert their abilities is so indispensable.

2. Less women are present at the CCLC. This is because most units don't want to send women abroad, because they often have trouble when they are at work.

3. Because women can do almost anything that men can do. The more women who get a high education can be engaged in science and technology.

4. Yes. Women are better than men in teaching English or other languages.

5. Because there are only one-fourth women at the CCLC in science and technology, and women make up half the population in China.

6. Women are a very important part of our country. They can do almost everything that men can do. Now China has many excellent scientists. So that women should equal men studying here if they want.

7. I think the number of women at the CCLC are too small. Perhaps, they have better ability to study a foreign language than men.

8. Most women have the same ability as men in science and technology if they spend the same time and energy studying in these areas.

9. Students can help and promote each other better.

10. Our government should cultivate more women scientists and technicians.

11. Because many students in CCLC work in science and technology, more teachers in the same fields can give students more help and understand them better.

12. Yes, they often learn language better, and may play some special roles in some fields of sciences.

13. Because women are good at language. They are always careful.

14. Because women are good at language learning. Also, we should have more women scientists.

15. Men and women are generally equal, although there are some differences physically. Women can do everything as well as men.

16. In some fields, women can do better than men.

APPENDIX C

Additional information from interviews

A MOTHER'S STORY

Although the rhetoric one hears is always that of justice and the constitution being such that honors both men and women, anyone who has spent anytime at all in China knows that the 'back-door' is used whenever one has an opportunity, and that those with privileged connections always have more chances to get what they want. China has also had a history of secret societies and underground movements, and there is no reason not to believe that they do not exist today. However, such a study is for someone else to do at a later date in history. What I feel is important to at least acknowledge, however, is that rules and regulations in China are often secondary to that of the power of privilege or inside knowledge. This is, and has been, a way of life for the Chinese people. This is illustrated in the following story about how a mother finally got her daughter admitted to a school of engineering.

In order for my daughter to get into college, she had to take the college entrance exam. She took it and scored above the admittance score. We knew her score, and we knew the admittance score for that university, but she couldn't get in. But by a stroke of luck there was a teacher from her middle school on the education committee which is in charge of taking all the scores of the students to the university. And all the middle schools are anxious to have more of their students from their school get into college. This way they'll get a better name for the school. If they have 100 graduates and 50% of them get into university then they can get more students there. So, we asked this teacher why my daughter couldn't get into the Institute and she told us it was because they said that she was near-sighted. This is not a reason. This is really no reason because before getting into college all the students who want to take the college entrance exam have to have their health checked. There's no regulation that says that someone who is near-sighted can't enter college. And so I asked the education committee, and they said that it was really no reason for not admitting her. But, I also knew through a friend that this school had some children from their staff who scored lower but who also wanted to get into the university. Now, when any college or university takes in students, they will take those who score above the admittance score. However, because they want to take children from their staff they will

turn out others who have scored higher as not being healthy or something. I had a friend who knew the Dean of that university and I asked him to find out why this had happened to my daughter. And the Dean remembered my daughter and that she had been turned away for near-sightedness. Actually, they couldn't even take some of the children of the staff because they had scored too low. And, of course, this Dean said: "Well now we think she's all right, but it's already past the deadline for acceptance." But he told me that one of the cadres on the education committee of the Beijing municipality had a son who had scored quite low, and he also wanted to send his son to the university. Because there were two of us who had applied, and because near-sightedness was not a reason for refusing my daughter, the educational committee said it would be all right to re-apply. After we did that, I went back to the Dean again who had to go to the educational committee and ask. Since there were two of them, they were admitted. So, actually when my daughter went to the university it was already twenty days late. So that's how you get it. But you have to know a lot about all these things, so these people can really help you.

My daughter did fine in her field-engineering. At first she was not used to her course. She was in the middle of her class because she went in 20 days late. It was hard. She had to catch up. By the third and fourth year, she was doing very well and especially in the fourth year she got excellent in her thesis and was told that she had a very logical mind.

I encouraged her to study math and science because 1+1=2. You can't say anything else. But if you go into arts and literature, it's very hard because there are a lot of theories and ideas. There's more politics in that. (Author's note: In 1968, Mao Tse-Tung pronounced all forms of learning aside from science and technology as bourgeois 'poisonous weeds' — this has, in turn, caused more people to consider careers in science and technology as being more politically safe. Naturally, since females are directed into the arts and humanities, one could say that they are at more political risk; on the other hand, they have no power to take away either).

Well, actually a lot of people think that women are not good at math and physics, but actually I think that they are the same. They're just as clever as the men.

Over here you're assigned to a job. There are a lot of places that don't want female students. They want boys. But the school will say: "Well, if you take one girl, we'll give you one boy. You can't take all boys." My daughter got a good job because she's considered a bright student and especially because she's doing designing so if it's a boy or girl, it's the same.

It didn't bother her that she was one female among many males in engineering school. But one thing in China is that you have to push carts and things to take heavy loads. But my daughter is healthy so she can carry these loads.

I think my daughter should have a good future. As it is now three girls went to her work unit. Two are married. My daughter still doesn't have any boyfriends. And she still works very hard and they like her very much. In all the work units, they think that girls are too troublesome. They'll become a mother. They have to take care of the children and then they have to have maternity leave, and they all think that's too troublesome.

SAMPLE INTERVIEWS

The author would like to reproduce three interviews which took place concerning reproductive labour.

Sample Interview #1: Conversation with 3 females

Do you think women have a talent for raising children?

In our class, the gentlemen said that taking care of a child is a woman's innate ability.

Do you agree with that?

It's very unfair.

Do you think it's a female's instinct to take care of a child?

I don't think so.

Do you think that males believe that it is a female instinct?

Yes.

Why do you think that they believe it?

It's just because of traditional ideas.

Would you like to see the traditional ideas changed?

Yes.

But it's difficult to change.

How can it be changed?

It will be changed as more and more educated women take part in their careers.

The first thing is education. The next thing is the open-door policy to the rest of the world and learn something from abroad. This will influence our tradition.

It's natural. They don't realize that it's unfair.

When did you realize that it wasn't fair?

Because of education. I have read many books on feminism and I realize that it isn't fair.

Sample Interview # 2: Conversation with 3 Males

You know, females have the talent to take care of a child. They can do it better than men do.

Do you think it's a question of females being able to do it better or females being forced to do it?

No. Not forced. This is a talent. This is a talent.

What if something happened to your wife or she went away to study for a year? Do you think you could raise your child?

I think under this situation I can do it because it's the only way to go.

Right. Do women have the talent for it or is it that men don't have the patience to do it? Women raise children. Maybe it's not a talent. Do you know any bad mothers?

Yes, there are a lot of bad mothers.

That's true.

You think women have a talent for raising children?

Yes.

Yes, I think so. Men are always so careless for looking after children.

Do you think that men are less responsible?

No, at least equal.

When you were raised as little boys, were you allowed to be more careless? Are you careless?

Yes. Don't worry about this talent.

Are you careless when you negotiate?

No.

Are you careless when you do housework?

Yes.

Why do you think you're careless when you do housework but not when you negotiate?

To do the housework is so terrible, to wash clothes, clean up the house, to look after a child. It's so terrible.

Do you think that working in your unit is more important than working in your home?

But my goal is family. In order to have a good family, we must work very well. As a result, we can get good salary to support the family.

But if you're careless about the housework, your wife does more housework? You're saying that housework is women's work?

No, I don't agree.

Then why don't you consider it important to do it well?

Men and women should do the same work in the house. So the man should try his best to do it very well. For example, I want to do it. I want to do it very well. I want to share the housework.

Careless?

This is my ability.

Why are you careless about housework? Maybe you've never thought about this before.

It's not on purpose.

I'm bad at doing housework.

Why?

To be honest, I'm often tired from my work so I cannot be trained to do housework.

What about your wife? Does she spend a lot of time at work too? Is she careful at doing what she does?

She not only does her work very well, she does a lot of housework very well.

Do you ever wonder how she can do both well?

No problem.

Are you surprised that she can do both well?

I'm not surprised.

You can't do both well, but she can.

That's one of the characteristics of Chinese women.

Sample Interview # 3: Conversation with three wives and mothers

I really had a difficult time when my daughter was young. When she was very small, I lived downtown and had to get up early in the morning just to catch the school bus and I had a lot of papers to mark. I remember every night after dinner I would have to get up in the evening several times just to feed her. It was difficult.

Really too much. The pressure is too much.

Now, you look at the situation. Everybody is busy. Everybody had to hurry to work and back home to look after the family.

We literally looked haggard.

That's right and no happiness. No free time.

And also in the office, you have to do the same kind of job, the same kind of performance. One job is domestic.

We just carried on.

Sometimes I would shout.

Yes. Yes.